

Ad fontes



Original Manuscripts and
Their Significance for
Studying Early Christianity
Selected Essays

Thomas J. Kraus

TEXTS AND EDITIONS FOR NEW TESTAMENT STUDY (TENT) [3]

BRILL

Ad Fontes

Texts and Editions
for
New Testament Study

Edited by

Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter

VOLUME 3

Ad Fontes

Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity— Selected Essays

by

Thomas J. Kraus



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2007

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
(TENTS)

Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter

Texts and Editions for New Testament Study is designed to offer texts and editions, with commentary and comment, of important sources for the study of the New Testament and its world. Primary sources are envisioned as a mainstay of the series, in which documents that enlighten and support New Testament study are published in definitive, accessible and informative editions, often with supporting commentary. Collections of essays and monographs that focus upon these types of important sources are also welcome, as they advance the scholarly discussion. The series is designed for scholars and is meant to push discussion forward by providing access to, and engagement with, primary sources and the latest critical scholarship.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISSN 1574-7085
ISBN 978 90 04 16182 5

© Copyright 2007 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To my heart and love, Linda

ἐὰν μὴ ἔλῃται ἀνέλπιστον, οὐκ ἐξευρήσει,
ἀνεξερεύνητον ἐὼν καὶ ἄπορον.

*Whoever cannot seek the unforeseen, won't discover it, for it
is untraceable then and remains inaccessible.*

Heraclitus

(according to: Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 2.17.4)

CONTENTS

Preface	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
Abbreviations	xvii
 Chapter One ‘Why am I doing what I do?’ Introducing my Work on Manuscripts <i>and</i> Ordering the Essays according to Topics and Approach	1
 Chapter Two ‘Parchment or Papyrus?’: Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts	13
 Chapter Three <i>Ad fontes</i> —The Benefit of the Consultation of Original Manuscripts as for instance <i>PVindob.G</i> 31974	25
 Chapter Four <i>POxy.</i> V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms	47
 Chapter Five <i>PVindob.G</i> 2325: The So-called Fayûm-Gospel—Re-edition and Some Critical Conclusions	69
 Chapter Six <i>PVindob.G</i> 35835 (former 26132a)—Notes on the Last Judgment	95
 Chapter Seven (II)Literacy in Non-literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects to the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times	107
 Chapter Eight ‘Slow writers’—ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?	131
 Chapter Nine ‘Uneducated’, ‘ignorant’, or even ‘illiterate’? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4:13	149

Chapter Ten	John 7:15b: ‘Knowing letters’ and (il)literacy ...	171
Chapter Eleven	The Lending of Books in the Fourth Century C.E. <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4365—A Letter on Papyrus and the Reciprocal Lending of Literature Having Become Apocryphal	185
Chapter Twelve	An Obligation from Contract Law in Philemon 19 Characteristic Style and Juridical Background	207
Chapter Thirteen	7Q5— <i>Status Quaestionis</i> and Fundamental Remarks to Qualify the Discussion of the Papyrus Fragment	231
Index of Ancient Texts		261
Manuscripts (Papyri, Ostraca, Tablets <i>et al.</i>)		265
Index of (Selected) Modern Authors		268
Subject Index		270

PREFACE

Usually, it is an easy and joyous occasion to thank people for their assistance, active help, and motivation to accomplish a monograph such as this. Although it is a joyous undertaking for me here, too, it is not an easy one. There were so many helpful hands without whom each of the essays in their original version would not have been possible. Most of them will be mentioned at the appropriate place in the footnotes. In addition some others will play the role of a ‘character’ in the narrative introductory chapter, which is dedicated to the people and my own curiosity that motivated me to plunge into the world of ancient manuscripts. Thus, I restrict myself here to those people whose support has been essential for the book in front of you, its individual essays, and the update sections.

First and above, all I am deeply grateful to Stanley E. Porter (McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton/Ontario, Canada). He came up with the idea of translating some of my dispersed publications dealing with manuscripts and publishing them in a single volume in order to make them known and more easily accessible for interested scholars. It was his permanent encouragement and his indefatigable, patient, and unselfish work on my English style and now and then the content of the essays that made this book possible at all. I say thank you, my friend.

Furthermore, I thank him and Wendy J. Porter, the editors of the *Texts and Editions in New Testament Study*, for offering the opportunity to have this volume of selected translated and enlarged essays incorporated into their fine series.

Further, it is not only obligatory or natural to thank my friend Tobias Nicklas (Radboud Universiteit, Nijmegen, The Netherlands) for his permanent willingness to read my strenuous and often technical studies, it is a great pleasure and deep wish coming from my heart of hearts to say: Thank you, Tobias, for doing what you did and do for me.

Last but not least, I must not forget to express my gratitude to the people at Brill Academic Publishers in Leiden, The Netherlands, for their continuous support and for always having an open ear for my demands.

However, words of thanks are not enough to express what I feel when I think of my beloved wife, Linda, and the time I accomplished this book. Not only did her deep understanding and affection—and even more that cannot be put in words—create the cosy atmosphere for my being productive, but her omnipresent love gently accompanies me and our little Jakob, wherever we are and wherever we go. It is to her, and solely to her, that I dedicate this book.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I *Studies in the present volume and where they have originally been published*

For the permission to republish or to publish a translation of my original German essays I want to thank the following people:

Judith Lieu (Cambridge University Press; *NTS*); Horacio Simian-Yofre (Pontificio Istituto Biblico; *Bib.*); Claus-Jürgen Thornton (Walter de Gruyter Verlag; *ŽAC/ĴAC*); Susanne Biegert (Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH; *ŽPE*); Gabi van Rietschoten (Koninklijke Brill N.V.; *Mn.*); Eva-Carin Gerö (Scandinavian University Press; *Ex.*); Roman Jacobek (Phoibos Verlag; *Biblos*); Susanne Völkl (Verlag Friedrich Pustet; Frühwald-König/Prostmeier/Zwick, *Steht nicht geschrieben?*); Florentino García Martínez (Secretary of the *RdQ*).

- 1 “‘Why am I doing what I do?’ Introducing My Work on Manuscripts and Ordering the Essays according to Topics and Approach’, previously unpublished.
- 2 “‘Parchment or Papyrus?’: Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts’, originally published as: “‘Pergament oder Papyrus?’ Anmerkungen zur Signifikanz des Beschreibstoffes bei der Behandlung von Manuskripten’, *NTS* 49 (2003) 425–32.
- 3 ‘*Ad fontes*—The Benefit of the Consultation of Original Manuscripts as for instance *PVindob.G* 31974’, originally published as: ‘*Ad fontes*: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von *PVindob.G* 31974’, *Bib.* 81 (2001) 1–16.
- 4 ‘*POxy.* V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on two Terms’, originally published as: ‘*POxy.* V 840—Amulett oder Miniaturkodex? Grundsätzliche und ergänzende Anmerkungen zu zwei Termini’, *ŽAC/ĴAC* 8/3 (2005) 485–97.
- 5 ‘*PVindob.G* 2325: The So-called Fayûm-Gospel—Re-edition and Some Critical Conclusions’, originally published as: ‘*PVindob.G* 2325: Das sogenannte Fayûm-Evangelium—Neuedition und kritische Rückschlüsse’, *ŽAC/ĴAC* 5 (2001) 197–212.

- 6 ‘*P.Vindob.G* 35835 (former 26132a)—Notes on the Last Judgment’, originally published as:
‘*P.Vindob.G* 35835 (vormals 26132A)—Notizen über das Endgericht?’, *ZPE* 141 (2002) 149–54.
- 7 ‘(Il)Literacy in Non-literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects to the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times’, originally published under the same title in: *Mn* 53 (2000) 322–41.
- 8 “‘Slow Writers’”—ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?’, originally published under the same title in: *Er* 97 (1999) 86–97.
- 9 “‘Uneducated’”, “ignorant”, or even “illiterate”? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4:13’, originally published under the same title in: *NTS* 45 (1999) 434–49.
- 10 ‘John 7:15b: “Knowing letters” and (Il)literacy’, previously unpublished.
- 11 ‘The Lending of Books in the Fourth Century CE: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4365—A Letter on Papyrus and the Reciprocal Lending of Literature Having Become Apocryphal’, originally published as:
‘Bücherleihe im 4. Jh. n. Chr.: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4365—ein Brief auf Papyrus vom Anfang des vierten Jahrhunderts und die gegenseitige Leihe von apokryph gewordener Literatur’, *Biblos* 50 (2002) 285–96.
- 12 ‘An Obligation from Contract Law in Philemon 19: Characteristic Style and Juridical Background’, originally published as:
‘Eine vertragsrechtliche Verpflichtung in Phlm 19. Duktus und juristischer Hintergrund’, in: J. Frühwald-König/F.R. Prostmeier/R. Zwick (eds.), *Steht nicht geschrieben? Studien zur Bibel und ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte* (FS G. Schmuttermayr; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2001) 187–200.
- 13 ‘7Q5—*Status Quaestionis* and Fundamental Remarks to Qualify the Discussion of the Papyrus Fragment’, originally published as:
‘7Q5: *Status quaestionis* und grundlegende Anmerkungen zur Relativierung der Diskussion um das Papyrusfragment, *RdQ* 74 (1999) 239–58.

II *List of illustrations*

I am indebted to Hermann Harrauer, former Director of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, who granted me permission to publish in my work the photographs of the papyri I studied during my visits to Vienna.

Fig. 1: *PVindob.G* 31974 (recto)

Fig. 2: *PVindob.G* 2325

Fig. 3 & 4: *PVindob.G* 35835 (recto and verso)

ABBREVIATIONS

— I —

Papyri,¹ ostraca, and tablets, i.e. editions, corpora, instrumenta, series, periodicals, and proceedings of international congresses associated with them, are abbreviated according to the papyrological conventions in

Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets (ed. J.F. Oates *et al.*; <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>; last updated December 2005),

and, in a shorter print version,

Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets (ed. J.F. Oates *et al.*; BASPS 9; Oakville-Oxford: David Brown Book-Oxbow Books, ⁵2001).

For transcriptions of the Greek texts of papyri *et al.* the ‘Leiden system’ is applied with critical signs as follows (definitions from Eric G. Turner):²

αβγδ	“letters about the reading of which there is a genuine doubt, or letters which are so mutilated that without the context they might be read in more than one way”
. . . . or – 10 – ±10	“illegible letters, the approximate number of which is known”
[. . . . or – 10 – ±10]	“missing letters, the approximate number of which is known”

¹ In papyrology the term ‘papyri’ includes parchment manuscripts, too. On this see my essay (chapter 2) ‘“Parchment or Papyrus?”: Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts’, originally published as: ‘“Pergament oder Papyrus?” Anmerkungen zur Signifikanz des Beschreibstoffes bei der Behandlung von Manuskripten’, *NTS* 49 (2003) 425–32.

² E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press ²1980 [repr. 1998]) 187–8. For similar listings of critical signs see P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden: Brill, ²1994) 15–16 and ‘inside back cover’ (319); H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994) 18–19 and 26.

] or [] or [	“missing letters, the number of which is unknown”
[αβγδ]	“letters restored, the number of which is unknown”
< >	“lacunae in the text (omission of the scribe)”
<αβγδ>	“additions made by the editor in order to fill such lacunae”
(αβγδ)	“resolutions of abbreviations”
{αβγδ} or {...} or {αβγδ}	“interpolations (that is, letters or words wrongly added by the scribe, and cancelled by the editor of the text)”
[[αβγδ]]	“erasures by the scribe”
`αβγδ´	“interlinear additions”

— II —

For classical and patristic authors and their works, biblical texts, Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls and related texts, Philo and Josephus, the Apostolic Fathers, New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha my main principle is clarity, so that short forms and abbreviations are used only where appropriate. For identifying what is behind the abbreviation see:

P.H. Alexander *et al.* (eds.), *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999) 73–84 and 176–233.
and
LSJ⁹, xvi–xxxviii ([classical] authors and works only).

— III —

For journals, periodicals, major reference works, and series the following abbreviations are used:

30Tage	30Tage in Kirche und Welt. Internationale Monatszeitschrift
AASFB	Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae. Ser. B. Helsinki 1909–
AcOr	Acta Orientalia
Aeg.	Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia

<i>AnalPap</i>	<i>Analecta Papyrologica</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica (Rome: Biblical Inst. Press 1952–).
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Eds. H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 1972–).
ANT	Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung (Berlin-New York 1967–).
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>Apocrypha</i>	<i>Apocrypha. Revue internationale des literatures apocryphes. International Journal of Apocryphal Literatures</i>
<i>Arbor</i>	<i>Arbor. Revista general de investigación y cultura</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Annali di storia dell'esegesi</i>
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology (New Haven-Atlanta 1966–).
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>AW</i>	<i>Antike Welt</i>
BAC	Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
Bauer ⁶	W. Bauer, <i>Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur</i> (Ed. K. Aland and B. Aland; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter 1988).
<i>BeO</i>	<i>Bibbia e Oriente</i>
BETHL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium (Louvain <i>et al.</i> 1948–).
<i>Bib.</i>	<i>Biblica. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici</i>
<i>Biblos</i>	<i>Biblos. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Buch- und Bibliothekswesen</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
BICS.S	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London. Supplement (London <i>et al.</i> 1955–).
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>The Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i> (http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr ; last access 21/10/2006)
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen. Aktuelle Beiträge zur Exegese der Bibel und ihrer Welt</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CEg</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>Chiron</i>	<i>Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>

<i>CivCatt</i>	<i>Civiltà cattolica</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium (Ed. I.B. Chabot <i>et al.</i> ; Paris 1903–).
DBS	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément</i> (ed. L. Pirot and A. Robert; Paris 1928–).
<i>Dialogos</i>	<i>Dialogos. Hellenic Studies Review</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DNP	<i>Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996–).
DÖAW.PH	Denkschriften. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse (Vienna 1947–).
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DTT</i>	<i>Dansk teologisk tidsskrift</i>
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Neukirchen 1969–).
<i>Er.</i>	<i>Eranos. Acta philological Suecana</i>
Est.NS	Eichstätter Studien. Neue Serie (Kevelaer <i>et al.</i> 1955–).
<i>EstB</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
<i>ET</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et reliquieuses</i>
<i>EuA</i>	<i>Erbe und Auftrag</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
EWNT ²	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , 3 vols. (ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, ² 1992).
<i>FilNeot</i>	<i>Filología Neotestamentaria</i>
GCS.NF	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge (Berlin 1995–).
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
GRBS.M	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies. Monograph series
HAW	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft (Munich <i>et al.</i> 1885–).
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Hermathena. A series of papers on literature, science and philosophy</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen 1907–).

<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HThK	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Freiburg 1953–).
<i>ibw journal</i>	<i>ibw journal. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Instituts für Bildung und Wissen</i>
IFAO	L'institut français d'archéologie orientale
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> (Münster 1958–).
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian archaeology</i>
<i>JGRChJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i> (http://divinity.mcmaster.ca/jgrchj/home ; last access 21/10/2006)
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen 1832–).
KP	<i>Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike</i> , 5 vols. (ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer; Stuttgart: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1962–64/1979).
KTA	Kröners Taschenausgabe (Stuttgart <i>et al.</i> 1915–).
LACL ²	<i>Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur</i> (ed. S. Döpp and W. Geerlings; Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder Verlag, ² 1999).
LEC	Library of Early Christianity (Philadelphia 1986–).
LSJ ⁹	H.G. Liddell/R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (rev. by H.S. Jones, qith a revised supplement 1996; Oxford: Oxford University Press, ⁹ 1940 [1996]).
<i>Mn.</i>	<i>Mnemosyne. A Journal of Classical Studies</i>
Mn.S	Mnemosyne. A Journal of Classical Studies. Supplement series (Leiden 1938–).
MSSNTS	Monograph series. Society for New Testament Studies (Cambridge 1965–).
MThSt	Marburger theologische Studien (Marburg 1931–).
NDIEC	New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. A review of the Greek inscriptions and papyri (Sydney: Macquarie University 1981–).

<i>Neotestamentica</i>	<i>Neotestamentica. Journal of the New Testament Society of South Africa</i>
Nilus	Nilus. Studien zur Kultur Ägyptens und des Vorderen Orients (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag, 1998–).
<i>NRTh</i>	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum. An international quarterly for New Testament and related studies</i>
NT.S	Novum Testamentum. An international quarterly for New Testament and related studies. Supplement series (Leiden 1958–).
NTAC	New Texts from Ancient Cultures
NTApo ⁶	<i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> , 2 vols. (ed. W. Schneemelcher; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, ⁶ 1990).
NTD.E	Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Ergänzungsreihe (Göttingen 1969–).
NTD.T	Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Textreihe (Göttingen 1987–).
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus (Freiburg/Suisse-Göttingen 1986–).
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies. An international journal published under the auspices of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas</i>
<i>NTTRU</i>	<i>New Testament Textual Research Update</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies (Leiden <i>et al.</i> 1960–).
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis (Freiburg/Suisse 1973–).
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols. (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983).
Pape	W. Pape, <i>Griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch</i> , 2 vols. (Graz: Friedrich Bieweg & Sohn, ⁴ 1968).
Pap.Graec.Mag.	K. Preisendanz, <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> . 3 vols. (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner 1928/1931/1941; reprinted 1973–74).
<i>Philologus</i>	<i>Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum</i>
PKNT	Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament (Göttingen 2003–).
PO	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris 1907–)
PRE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (first editor G. Wissowa; Stuttgart-München: J.B.

	Metzler-Alfred Druckenmüller, 1st series, 1894–1963; 2nd series 1914–; Supplement 1903–; “Neuaustragung” 1978).
Preisigke/Kiessling	F. Preisigke/E. Kiessling (eds.), <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluß der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw. aus Ägypten</i> . Vols. I–IV, Supplements I–III (Berlin <i>et al.</i> , now Wiesbaden: 1925–2000).
PRSt	Perspectives in Religious Studies (Murfreesboro 1974–).
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien (Berlin 1964–).
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha veteris testamenti Graece (Leiden 1964–).
<i>PzB</i>	<i>Protokolle zur Bibel</i>
QDAPS	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine. Supplement (London <i>et al.</i> 1931–1950).
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i> (http://www.bookreviews.org ; last access 22/10/2006).
<i>RdQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études augustinienes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica</i>
<i>RivBib</i>	<i>Rivista biblica</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament (Regensburg ³ 1956–).
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RTL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
<i>Sefarad</i>	<i>Sefarad. Revista de la escuela de hebraicos</i>
SG	Sammlung Göschen (Berlin <i>et al.</i> 1899–).
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
StD	Studies and Documents (London <i>et al.</i> 1934–).
STP	Studi e testi di papirologia (Florence 1966–).
Studia Hellenistica	Studia Hellenistica (Leuven 1942–).
<i>StudPap</i>	<i>Studia papyrologica</i>
TaS	Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature (1st series Cambridge 1891–1952; 2nd series 1954–1963; 3rd series Piscataway/NJ 2004–).

TC	<i>TC: A Journal of Textual Criticism</i> (http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/TC.html ; last access 22/10/2006).
TENT	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study (Leiden 2005–).
<i>Textus</i>	<i>Textus. Annual of the Hebrew University</i>
<i>ThGl</i>	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament (Leipzig <i>et al.</i> 1928–).
<i>ThLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
ThWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (ed. G. Kittel <i>et al.</i> ; Stuttgart: 1933–1979; study edition 1990).
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie (Berlin 1974–).
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum (Tübingen).
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin [various series] 1882–).
<i>Tyche</i>	<i>Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
TzF	Texte zur Forschung (Darmstadt 1971–).
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher (Basel <i>et al.</i>).
<i>VigChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, Texas 1982–).
<i>WThJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen [two series]: Mohr Siebeck, 1950–).
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZAC/JAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity</i>
<i>ZKTh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZKWL</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

TEXTS AND EDITIONS FOR NEW TESTAMENT STUDY
(TENTS)

Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter

Volume 1 *The Gospel of the Savior* An Edition and Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity by Michael J. Kruger.

This volume provides an edition, commentary and critical analysis of the long-neglected P. Oxy. 840, to discuss its origin and place within early Christianity. The volume especially addresses questions of dating, historical veracity, and whether it is an amulet or a miniature codex.

Volume 2 *New Testament Manuscript* Their Texts and Their World edited by Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas.

This book comprises twelve essays dealing with manuscripts of the New Testament and/or what we can learn from them today. Starting from different angles the contributors—distinguished scholars of international reputation—focus on the fascinating and thrilling stories manuscripts tell, for instance about the times they were produced in or the people who handled them.

Volume 3 *Ad fontes* Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity—Selected Essays by Thomas J. Kraus

After a general introduction Thomas J. Kraus points out the value of assessing original manuscripts for a profound knowledge of early Christianity. This is done with the help of seventeen of his essays previously published in diverse journals or books now translated into English, enlarged by the current status quo of research, and set in a logical sequence.

The editors welcome submissions of proposals for manuscripts. It is anticipated that subsequent volumes will include editions of inscriptions relevant for New Testament study, other Greek and related papyri, early Christian and Jewish texts, Coptic documents, and critical analyses of various portions of the New Testament in relation to these documents.

CHAPTER ONE

‘WHY AM I DOING WHAT I DO?’ INTRODUCING MY WORK ON MANUSCRIPTS *AND* ORDERING THE ESSAYS ACCORDING TO TOPICS AND APPROACH

— I —

“Once upon a time...”—This is one of the stock phrases used to introduce oral storytelling, both fabulous and mythical, but also to start written-down narratives belonging to the genre of fairy tales. Although I, the ‘protagonist’ of the story told here, have not suffered from hardship and poverty, have not been in mortal danger, and have never been bewitched or turned into an animal (like the seven brothers in *The Seven Swans*), as many mythical heroes and heroines have, I still look back at the very beginning of my fantastic expedition of discovery and at where it has led me until today as being fairytale-like.

In addition, this is partly true in regard to “and they all live happily ever after”, the classical ending of many fairy tales: what I have discovered so far actually makes me happy (even if I associate happiness primarily with my wife Linda and my son Jakob), however, I do hope that there will be many further discoveries in the enchanting world of ancient manuscripts and of the people becoming visible in them awaiting me in the future. But first things first...

When I was preparing my first seminar in New Testament textual criticism for the summer term in 1998, I came across the usual questions: what do the mysterious sigla and abbreviations in the apparatus of the critical Nestle-Aland edition of the New Testament (in those days NA²⁶) mean? What is actually behind the letters and numbers used for the manuscript witnesses? What does a manuscript from the, let’s say, 2nd to the 8th century look like? While reading the conventional and classic introductions to New Testament textual criticism, such as the Alands’ *Der Text des Neuen Testament*, Metzger’s *The Text of the New Testament*, and Vaganay’s and Amphoux’s *Initiation à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, I sensed that there is more to ancient manuscripts than their dates, their reliability as a textual witness, the text preserved

by them, and how to establish the best text of the New Testament that may come close to the phantom of the ‘original text’. Although I found intriguing the fascinating history of textual criticism as a discipline, I rather felt strongly impelled to get to know more about the manuscripts themselves. Photographs, illustrations, and brief comments provided by these introductions are interesting; nevertheless, they did not satisfy my curiosity and provoked question after question: what can be deduced from the different styles of writing to be found in the manuscripts? Who were the scribes and/or copyists of the texts? Do size and layout of a manuscript matter? How do you restore a fragment and how do you reconstruct its text? How do you date a manuscript anyway?

My attention had already been attracted by monastic scriptoria in the Medieval Ages and their magnificent products, by the technical and artistic process of illuminated books, and the former high regard for the (hand)written word. Thus, it was like reading a thriller when I began to devour Wilhelm Schubart’s well-narrated *Griechische Palaeographie* before turning to some of Schubart’s other writings, such as his *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* and *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*. So, I learned about how the writing materials, papyrus and parchment, were manufactured and finally produced on a large scale, that potsherds (ostraca) had been perfectly destined to serve for occasional notes and short documents, but now and then for poems and literary texts, too, and that there were diverse writing materials of significance for our modern understanding of reading and writing in antiquity, such as wood and lead for tablets, and leather for rolls (as were used at Qumran).

Nevertheless, I felt that learning from books can be efficient, but there is something books cannot teach: the sensation of getting into direct and personal contact with the real things, i.e. the papyri, parchment leaves, ostraca, tablets, and whatever. Further, I anticipated that I could have additional insights into their world and the people behind them while studying the original artifacts, without having the slightest idea that my presentiment might soon come true. In spring 1998 I made plans to set off for Vienna to visit the papyrus collection there. Hermann Harbauer, Director of the Papyrus collection of the Austrian National Library, responded in such a friendly way to my letter asking for the opportunity of studying papyri¹ in the rooms of the collection, that I, being a pure

¹ Henceforth I often refer to manuscripts and fragments as ‘papyri’ as is conventional in papyrology. About this see chapter 2 “‘Parchment or Papyrus?’: Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts”.

amateur in the field of papyrology, not even a novice or learner, felt encouraged to go there. As I entered the train for the four-and-a-half hours trip to the capital of Austria, I was not even aware that ‘studying papyri’ might be something totally unknown to me. A friend of mine offered her flat to me so that I had accommodation close to the city centre and thus not far from the Hofburg with the rooms of the papyrus collection and the fine papyrus museum. After being welcomed by Hermann Harrauer and introduced to Hans Förster, I was immediately made familiar with handling the papyri, which I had preordered and randomly selected with the help of catalogues and lists.² So I sat there and stared at the papyrus fragments (among them *P.Vindob.G* 2325, the so-called Fayûm-Gospel,³ *P.Vindob.G* 31974, a leaf of the famous *Chester Beatty Gospel Codex*,⁴ *P.Vindob.G* 35835, and some others)⁵ and the parchment leaves (for instance, *P.Vindob.G* 39756, a bifolium of the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*⁶ and *P.Vindob.G* 39777 with verses from Psalms 68 and 80 according to Symmachus and with the Tetragrammaton in Old Hebrew letters)⁷ in front of me on the desk. When I first turned one of the items over by opening the two glass shields and handling the two sheets of paper that contained the papyrus, my hands trembled and I feared I would destroy an irretrievable archaeological artifact. I soon got used to dealing with the items confidently and safely. But at that very first physical contact I suddenly realized what I failed to notice while reading books about papyrology and palaeography and while looking at the plates of papyri in them: the writing is actually the handwriting of somebody who really lived once, who copied a literary

² In principle, these were van Haelst, *Catalogue*; Aland, *Reptertorium* I; idem, *Kurzgefasste List der griechischen Handschriften*. In addition, I planned to see some of the codices catalogued in Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften* 1–3/3. However, due to time and the fact that some of the codices I was interested in are kept in other places, I revised my original plan.

³ See chapter 5 ‘*P.Vindob.G* 2325: The So-called Fayûm-Gospel—Re-edition and Some Critical Conclusions’.

⁴ See chapter 3 ‘*Ad fontes*—The Benefit of the Consultation of Original Manuscripts as for instance *P.Vindob.G* 31974’.

⁵ For instance, *P.Vindob.G* 27290A, a compilation of Psalms from the 6th century and *P.Rain.Cent.* 24 from the 5th century, a papyrus leaf now consisting of five fragments with Septuagint Psalm 9:12–25, which has an interesting editorial history (see Kurt Treu, in *P.Rain.Cent.*, 268 and plate 47, correcting the wrong entries in van Haelst, *Catalogue*, nos. 104 and 105, and Aland, *Reptertorium* I, AT 49 and Var. 6, both taking over Peter Sanz’ determination of the fragments he had available as an amulet).

⁶ Cf. my later edition Kraus, ‘*P.Vindob.G* 39756 + *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f.* 4 [P]’, 45–61 and plates 3–4.

⁷ See *Stud.Pal.* XI 114 and Mercati, ‘Frammenti di Aquilo o di Simmaco’, 266–72.

text, or who has made notes of this and that. It took me three days until I was capable of doing what Hermann Harrauer invited me to do at my arrival: whenever you come up with a question, simply ask. Nonetheless, the only question I could formulate was: “what can I do to learn about papyrology and palaeography?” “Simply read papyri and tell about what you see there”, Harrauer responded willingly before recommending Seider’s *Palaeographie der griechischen Papyri*, because it has good plates and a fine selection of items. Shortly thereafter he showed me the rooms where the papyri are kept and swiftly selected some documentary papyri by chance. My task for the last two days of my stay was to practice deciphering, to describe the papyri and the scribes’ hands, and to collate the papyri with each other. Of course, I now know that the papyri chosen were quite slowly written and rather easy to be read in comparison with most of the other documents known and edited today. Needless to say, I was totally overwhelmed by the unforgettable impressions of that first week at a papyrus collection, having seen a papyrus for real for the first time; and needless to say, too, I fell asleep every evening of the week at about eight o’clock, even while watching a football match, my favorite sport.

Back home I purchased a used copy of the first two volumes of Seider together with copies of other classic titles with plates, transcriptions, and, above all, palaeographical descriptions of manuscripts, which I could lay my hands on in second-hand bookshops or of which I copied the most significant sections.⁸ But then I knew what I should have asked at Vienna. After some additional visits to the papyrus collection I gradually made my way into papyrology, finding answers to the questions I brought with me and taking new and even more questions home with me. So, I started working on the phenomenon of ‘slow writers’ in documentary papyri:⁹ who were they? What did it mean to them being hardly or not able to read and write? Were they ever discriminated against due to their partly or complete illiteracy? Which criteria are needed to distinguish between them and the description of a scribe’s hand as being that of a ‘slow writer’? These studies were completed in

⁸ These are Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*; Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*; Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*; Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*; Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*. Specialized on Christian manuscripts are Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts*; Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts*; Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*; Cavallo, *Ricerche* (table).

⁹ I became aware of this by two paragraphs in Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, 29–30.

the rooms of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library utilizing its library and the advantage of immediately consulting papyri.¹⁰ It was natural that I wanted to see the papyri I was writing about, especially the writing exercise of a certain Petaus, village scribe in Ptolemais Hermu in the Fayûm in the 2nd century C.E. So I was confident enough to travel to Cologne to consult the papyri there in 2000. Jürgen Hammerstaedt waited for me on a Saturday (!) morning to make me familiar with the particulars of handling the papyri and how to use the microscope he had prepared for me. Before I left he showed me the famous and stunning Mani Codex.¹¹ Due to my preoccupation with the subject matter of reading and writing my attention was also attracted by general conditions and techniques of book production in antiquity and late antiquity.¹²

Henceforth, I returned to Vienna several times to study papyri there, to talk to Hermann Harrauer and Hans Förster, both of them patiently answering my questions. Without them I would not have found out about the fascination of papyri, their world and their people, and without them I would not have written what I wrote. Thank you!

Between my visits I learned the basic technical terms in papyrology¹³ and palaeography¹⁴ and finally (re-)edited some fragments and manuscripts myself.¹⁵ Reading papers at two international congresses of papyrology and meeting colleagues there are two milestones of

¹⁰ See chapters 7 '(II)Literacy in Non-literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects to the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times', 8 "'Slow writers"—ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?', and 9 "'Uneducated", "ignorant", or even "illiterate"? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4:13'.

¹¹ For images and some introductory information, see the internet pages of the Papyrus Collection in Cologne (<http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie>; last access 31/10/2006).

¹² See Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*; idem, *Die Buchrolle*; Hunger, *Lesen und Schreiben in Byzanz*; Trost, *Scriptorium*. Very interesting insights into the manufacturing of rolls and their usage have recently been provided by Johnson, *Bookrolls*.

¹³ Cf., for example, Grunz.Mitt. and Grunz.Wilck.; Montevocchi, *La papirologia*; Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology*; Turner, *Greek Papyri*; Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung*; Pestman, *The New Papirological Primer*; Bagnall, *Reading Papyri*.

¹⁴ In addition to Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, see Kenyon, *The Palaeography*; Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur griechischen Palaeographie*; Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*; Thompson, *An Introduction*; idem, *A Handbook*; van Groningen, *Short Manual*; Mioni, *Introduzione*; Bischoff, *Paläographie*.

¹⁵ See chapter 5 'P.Vindob.G 2325: The So-called Fayûm-Gospel—Re-edition and Some Critical Conclusions' and chapter 6 'P.Vindob.G 35835 (former 26132a)—Notes on the Last Judgment'. Further, see Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodd. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]', 45–61 and plates 3–4; Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*.

my occupation with papyrology.¹⁶ Soon I will publish an *editio princeps* of three Christian fragments: *Bodl. MS. Gr. th. g 4 [P]* and *Bodl. MS. Gr. th. g 2 [P]* are parchment fragments kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,¹⁷ and one is a Greek papyrus of the Wessely Collection in the National Library of Prague.¹⁸ Besides, I still write about the world of the manuscripts and the people associated with them, basically concentrating on the New Testament and early Christianity.¹⁹ This certainly has to do with my training as a student of theology at the University of Regensburg (Ratisbone) and initial attraction conveyed by the world of the early Christians and the early Christian manuscripts. However, I also focus on the evidence of the documentary papyri in order to assess the lives of the common people in (late) antiquity. A colleague of mine once claimed: “there cannot be anything more boring and superfluous than to reflect upon the condition, price, and significance of a donkey sold by person A to B.” Of course, I had to discover sharply and still do so, if something like that is uttered. Although working on dozens of contracts of the same form and structure might be enervating, even to specialists, papyri (as do inscriptions and any other archaeological items) are of indisputable value. They *are* individual (as are the copies of contracts), irretrievable, and direct witnesses to the past, to its people, and thus fingerprints of real people (common people, such as peasants, slaves, merchants, or scribes).

By saying this I do not want to be misunderstood as saying that I only accept conclusions drawn from the consultation of the original of

¹⁶ ‘Entstehungsprozess einer kritischen Edition frühchristlicher Apokryphen: Das Beispiel “Petrusevangelium”’ (23th International Congress of Papyrology [*Association Internationale de Papyrologues*], Vienna, July 22–28, 2001; to be published in the acts of the congress *Pap. Congr. XXIII*) and ‘Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Funktion’ (24th International Congress of Papyrology [*Association Internationale de Papyrologues*], Helsinki, August 1–7, 2004; to be published in the acts of the congress *Pap. Congr. XXIV*).

¹⁷ I am very much indebted to the authorities at the Bodleian Library in Oxford for making work on the manuscripts possible and for supplying quality photographs in the aftermath of my visit at the library, above all to Christopher Tuckett, Pembroke College, Oxford, who invited me to come to Oxford to study manuscript fragments for a chapter I wrote for a volume in his and Andrew Gregory’s new series *Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts (OECGT)*.

¹⁸ My friend Rosario Pintaudi, Università degli Studi di Messina and Biblioteca Laurentiana, Florence, invited me to contribute a first edition of a papyrus (*PPrag. Gr. III 636 + Gr. IV 15* fragment I; probably with a hymn to Mary with a chairetismos and a trishagion) to the fifth volume of the *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri of Prague* (in the series *Papyrologica Florentina*). Thanks a lot for trusting in me.

¹⁹ See, for instance, recently Kraus, ‘Manuscripts with the *Lord’s Prayer*’, 227–66.

a manuscript. Of course, I am fully aware of the consequences of such an unrealistic demand. Scholars must rely on printed editions based on manuscript evidence, on weighing up of variant readings, and on the editors' decisions, such as is the case of the critical editions of the Apostolic Fathers or writers of the early Church. Moreover, we would not be able to make any progress in developing overall conceptions of certain issues if we persisted in the viewpoint that, by all means and first of all, the manuscripts had to be evaluated. Nonetheless, manuscripts form the basis of each edition of a literary work from (late) antiquity, and there must be people who do the fundamental service of assessing these manuscripts for the benefit of those who intend to conclude further from them. For some purposes, for example for compiling transcriptions and translations of specific topical manuscripts for students and scholars interested in being introduced to the specific topic, it might be sufficient to take over the data of the first editions and significant subsequent studies now and then.²⁰ Consequently, there is no need to go to every collection concerned and consult each individual manuscript there in order to check the readings and observations as long as it is clearly stated that this is not done.²¹ Probably, it is a selfish shortcoming of me not to succeed in letting go of original manuscripts because of my own fascination and biased preoccupation with them. Be that as it may, this is not meant as any vilification of the work of others who do not do the same as I. On the contrary, I respect and often even admire those who write studies with an overall approach to a certain topic, for instance about the development of the Canon and the exclusion of writings that became extra-canonical.

— II —

The essays selected for this volume are not arranged chronologically according to their date of publication. While translating my original German essays and writing the *addenda* sections, I reached the conclusion that the book should have a thematic progression. Some essays belong very closely together, other only loosely, so I refrained from grouping

²⁰ See, for example, the compilations by Finegan, *Hidden Records*, and Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*.

²¹ This is the case of some items treated by Lührmann, *Fragmente*, and definitely for Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*.

the essays visibly by introducing titles for the different parts of the book. Nevertheless, the essays are all linked by one single central theme: my preoccupation with manuscripts and what I conclude from them.

Chapters 2 (“Parchment or Papyrus?”: Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts), chapter 3 (*Ad fontes*—The Benefit of the Consultation of Original Manuscripts as for instance *P.Vindob.G* 31974), and chapter 4 (*P.Oxy.* V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms) deal with methodological and general subjects, i.e. the principal significance of writing material in papyrology, the layout of a fragment and the size and form of its letters, and the fact that a hypothesis can be backed by scrutinizing a manuscript palaeographically.

The next two chapters, chapter 5 (*P.Vindob.G* 2325: The So-called Fayûm-Gospel—Re-edition and Some Critical Conclusions) and chapter 6 (*P.Vindob.G* 35835 [former 26132a]—Notes on the Last Judgment), are dedicated to the manuscripts themselves: they are the re-editions of two papyri.

The next four essays focus on the topic of reading and writing in documentary papyri in general (chapter 7 [II] Literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects to the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times) and the application of the results from this fundamental work to the striking phenomenon of ‘slow writers’ in papyrus documents and the ‘slow’ style of writing (chapter 8 “‘Slow writers’—ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?”), to the New Testament, to be exact to Acts 4:13 (chapter 9 “‘Uneducated’, ‘ignorant’, or even ‘illiterate’? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ [and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ] in Acts 4:13”) and John 7:15b (chapter 10 [John 7:15b: “Knowing letters” and [II] literacy”).

The next two essays are only loosely connected with each other. However, they address legal proceedings such as the lending of books (apocryphal texts) mentioned in a papyrus letter from the 4th century (chapter 11 ‘The Lending of Books in the 4th Century CE: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4365—A Letter on Papyrus and the Reciprocal Lending of Literature Having become Apocryphal’) and a judicial obligation in the Letter to Philemon (chapter 12 ‘An Obligation from Contract Law in Philemon 19: Characteristic Style and Juridical Background’). The conclusions are drawn from a broad base of additional documentary witnesses to the phenomena approached in both studies.

The final chapter is just a reminiscence of my early work on papyri. Stanley E. Porter asked me to integrate this study, too. I have never seen the original of the stamp-sized papyrus scrap of 7Q5—but I have looked at innumerable (probably far too many) photographs, illustrations, and computer animations—so that this is proof of what I wrote about the respect I owe those who deduce from the works of others, rely or have to rely on them, and take courage to build hypotheses on them. Personally I was drawn into the discussion of 7Q5 during the preparation of another seminar on textual criticism, because a contemporary conference on Qumran and discussions of 7Q5 in nearby Eichstätt University motivated students and colleagues to answer the opposing positions, just as if the issue of 7Q5 would have been fundamental for the correct understanding of early Christianity. Thus, I felt obliged to bring together the pros and cons and to start evaluating them on my own. It was a real surprise when I was asked to send this piece of writing to a well-acclaimed journal (*Revue de Qumran*) and even more surprised when its main editor, Florentino García Martínez, accepted it for publication (chapter 13 ‘7Q5—*Status Quaestionis* and Fundamental Remarks to Qualify the Discussion of the Papyrus Fragment’).

After deciding in favor of writing separate *addenda* sections I was convinced that these would be rather brief, because most of the issues I tackle in this volume are not mainstream. But I was mistaken due to a remnant of theological thinking. Exponents of other academic disciplines proved that these issues could be of quintessential importance. Of course, literacy and illiteracy are pivotal aspects of social life and have been for a long time.²² The lending of books is a manifestation of everyday-life behavior, so that we see that ‘the times are a-changing’ but some things stay the same, or at least similar. And size really matters, as has been discussed for *P.Vindob.G* 31974 (a leaf from the famous *Chester Beatty Gospel Codex*) and is now the object of further investigation into manuscript fragments, leaves, and codices.²³ These three examples should be sufficient to demonstrate that a interdisciplinary and at the same time multi-disciplinary approach is the best way to make progress

²² See recently the fine approach by Stein, *Schriftkultur*.

²³ Currently I am working on a full-scale assessment of the phenomenon of ‘miniature books’ in (late) antiquity with some eighty items in Greek, Latin, and bilingual ones, and additionally about fifty in Coptic.

and to cross-check the results of the other academic disciplines. Looking at the book now I regard the *addenda* sections as its core pieces.

For readers' convenience I decided against a comprehensive bibliography at the end of the volume and in favor of individual bibliographies following every essay. On the one hand this appears to go against reader friendliness, as otherwise full bibliographical data could have been traced in the one and only bibliography at the very end, but on the other hand, readers may evaluate the titles I read for and integrated into each essay, above all the titles I missed or plainly ignored. With this at hand readers are invited to judge whether I did a good job or not. However, I regard as more important that readers feel impelled to discuss the subjects I approach in this book and to esteem manuscripts, be they papyri, parchments, ostraca, tablets, or whatever, as direct witnesses to real and mostly common people of times long gone.

Bibliography

- Aland, K. (ed.), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANT 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, ²1994).
- , *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri. Vol. I: Biblische Papyri* (PTS 18; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976).
- /Aland, B., *Der Text des Neuen Testaments. Einführung in die wissenschaftlichen Ausgaben sowie in Theorie und Praxis der modernen Textkritik* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ²1989).
- Bagnall, R., *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (Approaching the Ancient World; London-New York: Routledge, 1995).
- Barbour, R., *Greek Literary Hands A.D. 400–1600* (Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).
- Bernhard, A., *Other Early Christian Gospels: A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts* (London-New York: T&T Clark, 2006).
- Birt, T., *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Literatur* (Aalen: Scientia, 1882).
- , *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst. Archäologisch-antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907).
- Bischoff, B., *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Grundlagen der Germanistik 24; Berlin: Erich Schmidt, ²1986).
- Blanck, H., *Das Buch in der Antike* (München: Beck, 1992).
- Cavallo, G., *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Studi e testi papirologia 2; Firenze: Le Monnier, 1966).
- /Machler, H., *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800* (BICS.S 47; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987).
- Elliott, J.K., *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation Based on M.R. James* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993 [Paperback 2005]).
- Finegan, J., *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts: A Working Introduction to Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Scholars Press, 1974).
- , *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus: An Introduction to the New Testament Apocrypha and to some of the areas through which they were transmitted, namely, Jewish, Egyptian, and Gnostic*

- Christianity, together with the earlier Gospel-type records in the Apocrypha* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969).
- Gallo, I., *Greek and Latin Papyrology* (Classical Handbook 1; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1986).
- Gardthausen, V., *Griechische Palaeographie. Erster Band: Das Buchwesen im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Teubner, ²1911).
- Hatch, W.H.P., *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).
- Hunger, H., *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 1: Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologici* (Museum N.F. 4.1.1; Vienna: Prachner, 1961).
- , *Lesen und Schreiben in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Beck's Archäologische Reihe; Munich: Beck, 1989).
- , *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 2: Codices juridici, codices medici* (Museum N.F. 4.1.2; Vienna: Prachner, 1969).
- , *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 3/1: Codices theologici 1–100* (Museum N.F. 4.1.3/1; Vienna: Prachner, 1976).
- , *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 3/2: Codices theologici 101–200* (Museum N.F. 4.1.3/2; Vienna: Holinek, 1984).
- , *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 3/3: Codices theologici 201–337* (Museum N.F. 4.1.3/3; Vienna: Prachner, 1992).
- Johnson, W.A., *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
- Kenyon, F.C., *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899).
- Kraus, T.J., 'Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer—They are More than Simply Witnesses to that Text itself', in: idem/T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (TENT 2; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 227–66.
- , 'P^{Vindob.G} 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]: Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse', *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61 and plates 3–4.
- /Nicklas, T. (eds.), *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (GCS.NF 11 = Neutestamentliche Apokryphen 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).
- Mercati, G., 'Frammenti di Aquila o di Simmaco', *RB* 8 (1911) 266–72.
- Metzger, B.M., *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible. An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).
- , *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, ³1992).
- Mioni, E., *Introduzione alla Paleografia Greca* (Studi bizantini e neogreci 5; Padova: Liviana 1973).
- Montevocchi, O., *La papirologia* (Tratti e Manuali Universitari 1. Per lo studio delle Scienze dell'Antichità; Mailand: Vita e Pensiero, ²1991).
- Pestman, P.W., *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden: Brill, ²1994).
- Roberts, C.H., *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).
- Rupperecht, H.A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Schubart, W., *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Handbücher der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin; Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, ²1921).
- , *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918).
- , *Griechische Palaeographie* (HAW 1,4,1; Munich: Beck, 1925 [repr. 1966]).
- , *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (Tabulae in usum scholarum 2; Bonn: A. Marcus et E. Weber, 1911).
- , 'Papyruskunde', in: A. Gercke/E. Norden (ed.), *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*. I. Bd. (Leipzig-Berlin: Beck, ³1927).

- Seider, R., *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri I–II* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1967–1970).
- Stein, P., *Schriftkultur. Eine Geschichte des Schreibens und Lesens* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006).
- Thompson, E.M., *A Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (London: Kegan Paul, ²1894).
- , *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912).
- Trost, V., *Skriptorium. Die Buchherstellung im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1991).
- Turner, E.G., *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Ed. by P.J. Parsons; BICS.S 46; London: Institute of Classical Studies, ²1987).
- , *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1980; repr. 1998).
- , *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980).
- Vaganay, L./Amphoux, Chr.-B., *Initiation à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Cerf, 1986 [1934]).
- van Groningen, B.A., *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography* (Leiden: A. Sijthoff, ³1963).
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).
- Wattenbach, W., *Anleitung zur griechischen Palaeographie* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895).

CHAPTER TWO

‘PARCHMENT OR PAPYRUS?’: SOME REMARKS ABOUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WRITING MATERIAL WHEN ASSESSING MANUSCRIPTS*

Recently there have been a growing number of people who explicitly point out that the artifact with writing on both pages that was excavated in today’s Behnesa (in Middle-Egypt) in 1905—better known under its ancient name Oxyrhynchos—and edited by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt as ‘Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel’¹ (*POxy.* V 840) in 1908 is in fact not a papyrus but a parchment leaf.² Claims are made then that *POxy.* V 840 is, for instance, “ein beidseitig in winziger Schrift beschriebenes Pergamentblatt (also kein ‘Papyrus’)”³ or “[o]bwohl als Papyrus gezählt, handelt es sich bei *POxy* 840 um ein Pergamentblatt”⁴ or “[t]his fragment is a leaf of parchment; therefore even if it has been published among the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* it is not actually a papyrus”.⁵

Without doubt, it is natural to mention the writing material in the course of any investigation of a manuscript; even more, it is a paleographical necessity. Both areas of research—archeology in general and papyrology/paleography in particular—offer concise descriptions of any object discovered, the latter always offers a specific description focusing on the constitution, the letter forms or the page layout of a fragment with writing on it. Thus, it is right and significant to describe the material used. Nonetheless, only the compilation of papyrological

* Originally published as “‘Pergament oder Papyrus?’: Anmerkungen zur Signifikanz des Beschreibstoffes bei der Behandlung von Manuskripten”, *NTS* 49 (2003) 425–32. Used with kind permission.

¹ This is the headline in *POxy.* V, 1–10 (see plate I with an image of the hairside). See further Grenfell/Hunt, *Fragment Of An Uncanonical Gospel From Oxyrhynchus*.

² This has been pointed out by Finegan, *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus*, 226–31, here 226: “...we call it Oxyrhynchus Parchment 840, thus retaining the series number but giving the correct indication as to material.” The impression that such a clarification is necessary is indeed inappropriate as will be shown later on.

³ Theißen/Merz, *Der historische Jesus*, 62.

⁴ Klauck, *Apocryphe Evangelien*, 40.

⁵ Bovon, ‘*Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840*’, 706.

and paleographical data can form the basis for decisive grounds and conclusions⁶ that refer to, for instance, the date of writing, scribal conventions and habits, the potential purpose, and the real people behind each fragment or manuscript.⁷

In an exemplary fashion and focusing on *P.Oxy.* V 840, such a methodical assessment has recently been demonstrated by Michael J. Kruger by raising questions about writing on one or both sides of the leaf (and additionally the relationship of the text on the two pages with each other), contents and extent of a preserved text, appearance (size, folding), and material (papyrus, parchment). Consequently, he includes the answers in his investigation into the original purpose and usage of *P.Oxy.* V 840, so that a conglomerate of (even papyrological) information helps to conclude that the leaf is from a miniature codex rather than being used as an amulet.⁸

However, where does the concentration of many Biblical scholars on the writing material as a central piece of information originate? It may be futile to speculate about the question of whether it came into being due to Caspar René Gregory's introduction of and still used systematization of the list of New Testament manuscripts according to material (papyri), the way of writing (majuscules, minuscules) and contents (lectionaries).⁹ More important in this context is that by focusing on writing materials textual criticism does not just categorize manuscripts, but suggests an implied value judgment about the individual categories then.¹⁰

⁶ Instructive and at the same time essential information on how to edit a papyrus and related objects with is offered by Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 202–3.

⁷ In general cf. Kraus *Ad fontes*, 1–16. About the paleographical justification of reconstructions see Porter, *P.Oxy.* 655, 84–7.

⁸ Cf. Kruger, *P.Oxy.* 840, 81–94. Finally, Kruger could have integrated additional paleographical observations in order to support his theses (for instance, an in-depth description of the hand of the scribe; the page layout; the usage of two different inks—black and red; the size of the fragment in relation to its questionable usage as amulet which is taken for granted quite often in secondary literature [the fragment does not have any foldings]).

⁹ Cf. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments I–III*; Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften*, continued by the internet pages of the “Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF)” in Münster (<http://www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung>, click on ‘Aktuelles’; last access 23/02/2006). See further the regularly updated lists on the internet by Wieland Willker, ‘Complete List of Greek NT Papyri’; idem, ‘Update-list of Greek NT uncials’.

¹⁰ Such a value judgment varies according to the method of textual criticism applied, for instance ‘thoroughgoing’, ‘rigorous’ or ‘radical eclecticism’. Cf. the contributions in Ehrman/Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, above all those in section ‘IV. Methods and Tools for New Testament Textual Criticism’.

On the one hand, this results from the nearly sensationalist perception and sometimes even magical fascination with papyri that carry New Testament and associated texts since the discovery and edition of the Chester Beatty Papyri (P⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷) as well as the oldest existing manuscript witness to the New Testament, *P.Ryl.* III 457 (P⁵²).¹¹ On the other, this is plainly caused by the fact that the papyri are just the first group of manuscripts of the New Testament in the lists.

Correspondingly, the attention of the readers of Kurt Aland's *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I: Biblisch Papyri* is directed by that writing material mentioned in the title of the volume. Other objects related to those papyri as regards subject matter and contents, since they are composed out of parchment or other materials, are excluded, although they share more features with items "Ap 8" to "Ap 18" as they are denoted by Aland and as far as contents and paleography are concerned than with the artificial difference between 'papyrus' and 'parchment'.¹²

In principle, one cannot help suspecting that—as indispensable as the list of manuscripts is for textual criticism of the New Testament—this formal division into writing materials is too exclusive and other connecting lines between manuscripts have been ignored. Ernst von Dobschütz once made an attempt at introducing the two categories 'ostraca' and 'talismans',¹³ of which only two items survive in the present list of New Testament manuscripts: [0152] (talisman) and [0153] (ostrakon), the parentheses indicating that both of them should be deleted. Nevertheless, a modifying clearing up of the list has never taken place. There are still papyri there that are rather to be identified as amulets (P⁵⁰ = *P.Yale* I 3; P⁷⁸ = *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2684; P¹⁰⁵ = *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4006), lectionaries (P² = Florenz, *Museo Archeologico inv.* 7134; P³ = *P.Vindob. G* 2323; P⁴⁴ = *P.Mon.Eph.* II 583), excerpts (P⁴³ = *P.Sarga* 62; P⁶² = *P.Oslo inv.* 1661), manuscripts with ἐρμηνεῖαι (P⁵⁵ = *P.Vindob. G* 26214; P⁵⁹ = *P.Ness.* II 3; P⁶⁰ = *P.Ness.* II 4; P⁶³ = *P.Berol.inv.* 11914; P⁸⁰ =

¹¹ Even if it can still hardly be corrected, this problematic and at the same time persistent notion has been at least recognized. See, for instance, Aland/Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 94–5; Epp, 'The Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament', 3–4, 14–16.

¹² Even the second volume—Aland/Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri II: Kirchenväter-Papyri*—is determined by the same exclusive concentration on the writing material 'papyrus'.

¹³ Cf. von Dobschütz, *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung*, 86, 97; idem, 'Zur Liste der Neutestamentlichen Handschriften II', 300; 'III', 218f.; 'IV', 188.

P.Barc.inu. 83), writing exercise ($\mathfrak{P}^{10} = P.Oxy.$ II 209) or occasional notes ($\mathfrak{P}^{12} = P.Amh.$ II 3 [b]) rather than simply as manuscripts of the New Testament. By doing so, i.e. by focusing solely on the writing material as the criterion, manuscripts are automatically put into a category that exegetes and textual critics often rashly accept as superior to other categories and as more significant for the reconstruction of the Greek New Testament.¹⁴ But why should papyri *per se* have preserved a more reliable text and be more important than parchment manuscripts dated to the same period of time or even older?

It is incomprehensible why, for instance, \mathfrak{P}^{74} (*P.Bodm.* XVII) from the 7th century should gain more attention and attain more significance, as it was done in the course of its reception, than the parchment leaf 0165 (*P.Berol.inu.* 13271) from the 5th century just because the first is written on papyrus and thus is placed in the first category of manuscripts which leads to a more prominent position rather than the latter, placed somewhat later in the last in a rather inconspicuous position. Both, however, are listed among the permanent witnesses to Acts in the 27th edition of Nestle/Aland and have a fundamental importance for the reconstruction of the text of Acts. Concerning publications¹⁵ on papyri—for example, \mathfrak{P}^{74} (*P.Bodm.* XVII)—and those on the parchments, i.e. the list of entries with the later numbers—for example, 0165 (*P.Berol.inu.* 13271)—it is striking that attention for the first is tremendously higher than for the latter. Almost no one who is interested in textual criticism engages in research on those parchments that are listed far back in the list, i.e. that do not have any prominent position in the first category and did not even receive any letter but just a figure as an abbreviation within the category of majuscules.

By looking at the lists, one may even feel tempted to make the point that, once the later manuscripts are discovered and/or edited, the less attention they receive, at least as far as their academic treatment is concerned, for those manuscripts denominated as majuscules are to be found at the end of the lists because of their high entry numbers.

¹⁴ Cf. Aland/Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 67. Even if the focus is mainly put on the age of the textual witnesses, no matter if their writing material is papyrus or parchment, the listing of manuscripts implies a certain significance of papyrus as material on the one hand, and a qualitative evaluation of manuscripts takes place on the other, then according to the postulation of hypothetic and datable forms of texts. For a critical assessment see Pickering, 'The Significance', 123–4, 131–2.

¹⁵ Cf. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften*; Elliott, *A Bibliography*.

So, it is quite improbable for most scholars to get stuck with a parchment codex like 0165 (*B.Berol.inv.* 13271), which is listed quite late and additionally has not been edited or studied adequately so that valuable information about its outer appearance, its purpose, or even the people behind the manuscripts is missing, to say nothing of a detailed and comprehensible evaluation of its text.

Once again a reference is to be made to Ernst von Dobschütz. By introducing the categories ‘ostraca’ and ‘talismans’ he pursued the aim with the latter “daß diese Gruppe, die verschiedenes Schreibmaterial zeigt, durch \mathfrak{S} = Talisman auf einen Einheitsnenner gebracht ist”¹⁶ (‘that this group presents the different writing materials and is united in the category \mathfrak{S} = talisman’). He recognized that from time to time the material used justifies a categorization less than contents or purpose, which can be proved by the manifold witnesses to the Lord’s Prayer or LXX Psalm 90 employed as an amulet or, in more general terms, in the field of apotropaeic magic.¹⁷ Verses from LXX Ps 90 are preserved on papyrus, parchment, wood, stone (lintels, sarcophagi, walls), bronze and silver (armbands, rings), alone or together with other texts. Of course, there are differences between the objects as far as the quality and reliability of their text is concerned in terms of textual criticism. The material used has a certain influence on the length and the exact purpose of the preserved verses. Nevertheless the objects are more closely linked with each other than by the usage of the same material, for instance the fact that parts of LXX Ps 90 is preserved at all and that they possess a principal magical background and purpose. Only a compilation of the relevant objects will enable us to draw conclusions from about the people becoming visible behind these archeological artifacts and to come to a more precise idea of how this psalm has been handed down to us. I am in the process of preparing a critical edition of those objects.

As delineated earlier several times: the mention of the material used, now returning to *POxy.* V 840, is important. However, it appears to be an exaggeration, when its material—parchment and not papyrus—as a single and isolated piece of information is pointed out as a peculiarity

¹⁶ Von Dobschütz, ‘II’, 300.

¹⁷ This corresponds to the critical notion hold by Pickering, ‘The Significance’, 121–3. About the Lord’s Prayer used that way and LXX Psalm 90 see van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus*, 417 (‘Pater’) and nos. 183–203.

that only few scholars have noticed¹⁸ in view of the principal orientation of papyrology and paleography and the mention of the material of this parchment leaf in important theological publications.¹⁹ The claim that “The fragment should no longer be called *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840*” is then absolutely justified, when reference is made to the object in a longer coherent text. Nonetheless, such a claim cannot lead to a substitution of the traditional and conventional shortened form *P.Oxy. V 840*, because this follows the conventions from the very beginning of papyrology as a discipline on the one hand and from the usual way of cataloguing in the collections and centres of papyrological studies, as well as following the conventions of abbreviations and shortened forms for editions and series that has evolved in the course of work since the early days of papyrology on the other (above all, see the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* available on the internet and regularly updated).

Since its very beginning the relatively young discipline of papyrology²⁰ has focused on the study of papyri,²¹ which refers to the writing material *and* the contents of the writing. Consequently, papyrology as an academic discipline got its name from those objects that were mainly dug out of the desert sand, i.e. from the writing material papyrus. Additionally, it concentrates on Egypt as the geographical region with the main findings and on the time in which Greek was the main language there. In the process of working on and editing papyri, it was

¹⁸ Implied by Bovon, ‘Fragment’, 706 n. 2 referring to Theißen/Merz, *Der historische Jesus*, 62.

¹⁹ Cf., for instance, Jeremias, *Unbekannte Jesusworte*, 50–60, esp. 50; Finegan, *Hidden Records*, 226–31, esp. 226; Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur*, 639–41, esp. 639. Finegan and Vielhauer at least provide some of the palaeographical information of the *editio princeps*. Further see Jeremias/Schneemelcher, ‘Oxyrhynchus-Papyrus 840’, *NTApō*, 81–2; Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, 64–5.

²⁰ On the development of papyrology, its definition and tasks, see, among others, Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology*, 1–5.98–100; Montevicchi, *La papirologia*, 30–43; Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, 1–5; Ruprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 1–3. For a fundamental history of papyrology see van Minnen, ‘The Century of Papyrology (1892–1992)’, 5–18. One of the early but still important standard works in the field by Ludwig Mitteis and Ulrich Wilcken (*Grundz.Mitt. and Grundz.Wilck*) demonstrates that consensus and practice were shaping a more and more uniform picture of the extent and tasks of papyrology. Even if they deal with how the papyri and their texts were produced, the two scholars still excluded Demotic, Coptic, Arabic documents and literary papyri from the discipline of papyrology.

²¹ Cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri. An Introduction*, vi. This corresponds with the German designation of the discipline as ‘Papyruskunde’. Additional to the titles mentioned in n. 20 see Schubart, *Einführung*; idem, ‘Papyruskunde’.

soon realized that a radical limitation of the discipline on the basis of writing material does not make much sense, because all the other writing materials besides papyrus play an invaluable part in reconstructing the time of the Greek language in Egypt.

There is a further step beyond any limitation of the field of papyrology to the writing material papyrus: At the same time that the Greek language was predominant Demotic, Latin, and Coptic texts were of importance, too. Of course, the history of Egypt did not simply start and end with the Greek language period, but it has its contemporary parallels and geographic ties.²² Therefore, in addition to papyrus and the Greek language other writing materials and languages came into the scope of papyrology; and the practical work on the artifacts shaped the loosely fixed boundaries of the discipline itself.

When the objects were brought into collections then and registered there, the definition of papyrology as shown above evolved and brought with it specific systems of cataloguing that qualify parchments as papyri, being the main writing material for the time and the geographic area of the discipline. Thus, the vast number of objects as that of the papyrus collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Viennese Erzherzog Rainer Collection) demands a systematic and at the same time pragmatic handling with not too many shortened forms or sigla in order to facilitate access for users (for instance, they have *PVindob.* for papyrus, parchment or even textiles [additionally qualified by *G* = in Greek, *K* = in 'Koptisch'/in Coptic or '*Stoff*', i.e. textile] and *O.Vindob.* for ostraca).²³ Equally consistent with the features of papyrology mentioned above, there are papyri together with ostraca and (wood) tablets within one and the same edition.²⁴ The field of papyrology, which evolved almost on its own in the course of the practice of editing, has been established for quite some time now, as the agreed-upon conventions of cataloguing and the shortened forms proved very valuable. This, i.e.

²² Schubart, *Einführung*, 1–17; idem, 'Papyruskunde', 9, 27–29; Ruprecht, *Kleine Einführung*, 1–3.

²³ For the history and stock of the papyrus collection in Vienna go to <http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/papyrus> and click on 'Allgemeines' (last access 23/10/02). Additional to the above mentioned there are objects from the private collection Tamerit (*ÖNB, Pap.-Sl., Privat-Slg. Tamerit*), which are qualified by '*H*(olz)', '*M*(etal)', '*ST*(ein)' oder '*T*(extil)'—wood, metal, stone, or textile. Cf. the objects in Henner/Förster/Horak, *Christliches mit Feder und Faden*.

²⁴ The relevant editions can be found in the *Checklist of Editions* at the end of the entries starting with 'O.' under the heading 'II. Ostraca and tablets'.

employing accepted shortened forms, is probably the best and only way to facilitate access and reference to the massive number of objects in the field of papyrology and to guarantee that scholars worldwide can identify and discuss an individual object with others.

Even if the explicit reference to the writing material of a textual witness is appropriate and relevant, taken on its own it does not tell much or even tells nothing about the object, unless the emphatic mention of the writing material—for instance, for *POxy*. V 840 that it is a parchment and not a papyrus—leads to conclusions about the object, which in this case it does not. Actually a detailed accumulation of paleographic data—at least that noted down in the *editio princeps* or any other relevant critical edition or re-edition of a manuscript—is rather helpful, so that the intended readers are set in the position to get an idea of the manuscript on their own. Only if the artifact is considered and looked at in an appropriate way may one gradually get closer to what is really somewhere hidden behind papyri, parchments, ostraca, wood tablets and the like: the socio-cultural conditions of the time and above all the real people of a time long ago, of whom we desperately seek to know more than we do now.

Addenda

In the meantime there has been major progress on the work on *POxy*. V 840, the miniature parchment leaf that usually is regarded as a fragment of an apocryphal gospel. Michael J. Kruger already addressed the issue whether *POxy*. V 840 should be taken as an amulet or part of a miniature codex in an article in 2002, but did not integrate all paleographic information available. After hearing about his dissertation project on this parchment leaf I sent him an offprint of this article and a copy of another one supporting his argumentation in favor of identifying *POxy*. V 840 as a miniature codex and not as an amulet in order to provide additional paleographic data.²⁵ These two studies were then unpublished but accepted for publication. In chapter one of his slightly revised dissertation published in 2005 (as the first volume of the series *Texts and Editions for New Testament Study*, TENT; Brill Academic Publishers) Kruger states about our work on *POxy*. V 840 that “they

²⁵ See my ‘*POxy*. V 840—Amulet oder Miniaturkodex?’, 485–497, which was accepted for publication in autumn 2003 but appeared in 2005.

reach strikingly similar conclusions” and that he “will interact with Kraus’ article throughout this chapter as appropriate”²⁶ as he did. Most of his volume is dedicated to the historical background and place of the apocryphal gospel text that may have been preserved on the two pages of this parchment leaf.²⁷ In a forthcoming volume with apocryphal *Gospel Fragments* (provisional title) in the series *Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts* (OECGT; Oxford University Press) Kruger will present a further discussion of *POxy*. V 840.

In a recently published study J. Keith Elliott calls for the sensible integration of the Apostolic Fathers into a modified apparatus of the critical editions of the New Testament.²⁸ While doing so, he points to several inconsistencies in evaluating textual witnesses, for instance, the papyri with an official Gregory-Aland number, of which some are opistographs, one might have been used as an amulet, another one as a lectionary, and some contain ἐρμηνεῖαι. Furthermore, there are a patristic fragment, a collection of songs, a potential school exercise, and probable amulets (talismans) among the papyri collected in the Gregory-Aland list.²⁹ In principle, Elliott’s examples are those I give shortly after the beginning of this essay (see above, the main text after note 12).

In the present article, a translation of my original contribution to *Biblica*, I also address the ostraca as indispensable historical testimonies. In 2003 Cornelia Römer published (and republished) fourteen ostraca of an archive with additional verses from Homer and aphorisms from Menander kept in the Petrie Museum in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (*ZPE*).³⁰ Thirteen of them preserve verses from the New Testament (Acts, Romans, Galatians, James, 1 John, Jude) and the remaining one has liturgical prayers. Hopefully these artifacts will initiate a re-evaluation of ostraca as worthwhile textual witnesses and at the same time rekindle innovative ideas to optimize lists of New Testament

²⁶ Cf. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 17 n. 1.

²⁷ About these chapters cf. the review article by Tobias Nicklas in *Apocrypha* 17 (2006; forthcoming) and my own review of Kruger’s volume in *FilNeot* 18 (2005; forthcoming).

²⁸ See Elliott, ‘Absent Witnesses?’, 47–58.

²⁹ Cf. Elliott, ‘Absent Witnesses?’, 49–50.

³⁰ Cf. Römer, ‘Ostraka mit christlichen Texten’, 183–201. The archive is discussed and edited in detail in the same number of *ZPE* by Funghi/Martinelli, ‘Ostraka letterari inediti della collezione Petrie’, 141–182.

manuscripts so that testimonies neglected or even excluded so far will receive the attention they deserve.

Once I refer to witnesses to the Lord's Prayer and to LXX Psalm 90. In the second volume of the series *Texts and Editions for New Testament Study*, TENT, I discuss some manuscripts with the central Christian prayer³¹ and elsewhere I present studies about various and varied aspects of the apotropaeic usage of the very popular Psalm 90 (91).³²

Bibliography

- Aland, B./Aland, K., *Der Text des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ²1989).
- Aland, K. (ed.), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANT 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, ²1994).
- (ed.), *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I: Biblische Papyri* (PTS 18; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976).
- /Rosenbaum, H.-U. (eds.), *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri II: Kirchenwäter-Papyri* (PTS 42; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).
- Bovon, F., 'Fragment *Oxyrhynchus* 840, fragment of a lost gospel, witness of an early Christian controversy over purity', *JBL* 119 (2000) 705–28.
- Elliott, J.K., *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (MSSNTS 109; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ²2001).
- , 'Absent Witnesses? The Critical Apparatus to the Greek New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers', in: A. Gregory/C. Tuckett (eds.), *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 47–58.
- Epp, E.J., 'The Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament', in: B.D. Ehrman/M.W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (StD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 3–21.
- Finegan, J., *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus: an Introduction to the New Testament Apocrypha and to some of the areas through which they were transmitted, namely, Jewish, Egyptian, and Gnostic Christianity, together with the earlier Gospel-type records in the Apocrypha* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969).
- Funghi, M.S./Martinelli, M.C., 'Ostraka letterari inediti della collezione Petrie', *ζPE* 145 (2003) 141–82.
- Gallo, I., *Greek and Latin Papyrology* (Classical Handbook 1; London: Institute of Classical Studies; 1986).

³¹ 'Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*—they are more than simply Witnesses to that Text itself', 227–266. At the SBL annual meeting 2005 in Philadelphia I presented a short version of this paper in the New Testament Textual Criticism section.

³² See 'Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Funktion' (paper delivered in the course of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 01–07/08/04; will be published in the Acts of the Congress = *Pap. Congr.* XXIV) enlarged and updated as 'Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial', *BN* 125 (2005) 39–72; 'Ein byzantinisches Amulett-Armband im *British Museum* (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalm 90 und der Huldigung der Magier', *JbAC* 48 (2005; forthcoming).

- Gregory, C.R., *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*. Vols. I–II (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1900–09).
- Grenfell, B.P./Hunt, A.S., *Fragment Of An Uncanonical Gospel From Oxyrhynchus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908).
- Henner, J./Förster, H./Horak, U., *Christliches mit Feder und Faden. Christliches in Texten, Textilien und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten* (Nilus 3; Wien: Österreichische Verlagsgesellschaft C & E. Dworak, 1999).
- Jeremias, J., *Unbekannte Jesusworte* (with the contribution of O. Hofius rev. ed.; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, ³1963).
- Klauck, H.-J., *Apokryphe Evangelien. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002).
- Kraus, T.J., 'Ad fontes: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von *PVindob.G* 31974', *Bib.* 82 (2001) 1–16.
- , 'Ein byzantinisches Amulett-Armband im *British Museum* (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalm 90 und der Huldigung der Magier', *JbAC* 48 (2005; forthcoming).
- , 'Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*—they are more than simply Witnesses to that Text itself', in: Idem/T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (TENT 2; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 227–66.
- , 'POxy. V 840—Amulet oder Miniaturkodex?', *ζAC/ΐAC* 8 (2005) 485–497.
- , 'Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Funktion' (paper delivered in the course of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 01–07/08/04; will be published in the Acts of the Congress = *Pap. Congr.* XXIV).
- , 'Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial', *BV* 125 (2005) 39–72.
- Kruger, M.J., 'P. Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex', *JThS* 53 (2002) 81–94.
- , *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (TENT 1; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005).
- Montevocchi, O., *La papirologia* (Tratti e Manuali Universitari 1. Per lo studio delle Scienze dell'Antichità; Mailand: Vita e Pensiero, ²1991).
- Pestman, P.W., *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, ²1994).
- Pickering, S.R., 'The Significance in non-continuous New Testament textual Materials in Papyri', in: D.G.K. Taylor (ed.), *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Texts and Studies 3,1; Birmingham: University Press, 1999) 121–41.
- Porter, S.E., 'P. Oxy. 655 and James Robinson's Proposals for Q: Brief Points of Clarification', *JThS* 52 (2000) 84–7.
- Römer, C., 'Ostraka mit christlichen Texten aus der Sammlung Flinders Petrie', *ζPE* 145 (2003) 183–201.
- Ruprecht, H.-A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Santos Otero, A. de, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos* (BAC 148; Madrid: BAC, ¹⁰1999).
- Schubart, W., *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918).
- , 'Papyruskunde', in: A. Gercke/E. Norden (ed.), *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*. I. Bd. (Leipzig-Berlin: Beck, ³1927).
- Theißen, G./Merz, A., *Der historische Jesus. Ein Lehrbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³2001).
- Turner, E.G., *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1980; repr. 1998).
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).
- van Minnen, P., 'The Century of Papyrology (1892–1992)', *BASP* 30 (1993) 5–18.
- Vielhauer, P., *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975).

- von Dobschütz, E., *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ⁴1923).
- , 'Zur Liste der Neutestamentlichen Handschriften II', *ZNW* 25 (1926) 299–306.
- , 'Zur Liste der Neutestamentlichen Handschriften III', *ZNW* 27 (1928) 216–22.
- , 'Zur Liste der Neutestamentlichen Handschriften IV', *ZNW* 32 (1933) 185–206.

CHAPTER THREE

AD FONTES—THE BENEFIT OF THE CONSULTATION OF ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS AS FOR INSTANCE *P.VINDOB.G 31974**

The critical editions of the New Testament are on principle reliable and at the same time thorough tools to get an overview of the manuscript tradition of the passage dealt with.¹ In addition, these concise editions are perforce restricted to a selection of manuscripts and variant readings.² A complete citation of textual witnesses for each passage will still just be an aspiration of the *Editio critica maior*.³ Of course, the demands of the main concern, i.e. the reconstruction of the best text for each passage of the Greek New Testament, bring with them the reality that many other pieces of information will be left out of account. The relevant academic discipline papyrology mostly takes papyri as the oldest accessible and above all first-hand sources, as fingerprints of a bygone time that had become fixed in individual material, in a specific layout of the page and performance of the writing, and in the orthography of a manuscript. On that condition, observations made with the help of an original manuscript facilitate sociological, religio- and socio-historical, and historico-cultural conclusions⁴ that

* Originally published as 'Ad fontes: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von *P. Vindob.G 31974*', *Bib.* 82 (2001) 1–16 (with plate). Used with kind permission.

I am very much indebted to Hermann Harrauer of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna for making possible my work on the original in the rooms of the library, for providing an image of the papyrus fragment, and for the helping hand offered. For all the shortcomings, however, I, the author of this study, am to be blamed.

¹ Above all Souter, *Novum Testamentum Graece*; Vogels, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*; Merk, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*; Bover/O'Callaghan, *Nuevo Testamento Trilingüe*; Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*; Aland et al., *The Greek New Testament*, and supplementing the latter Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*.

² For an assessment of these and other critical editions see Elliott, *A Survey of Manuscripts*; Silva, 'Modern Critical Editions', 283–96.

³ B. Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior* IV.1.1.2. Cf. the reviews by Elliott, Parker, Ehrman, and the response by Wachtel.

⁴ See, among others, Schubart, *Einführung*; idem, 'Papyruskunde', 39–43; Hagedorn, 'Papyrologie', 62–70. Further relevant are Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*,

may become indispensable for any kind of further research.⁵ That this is possible without any difficulty on the basis of documentary papyri is self-evident, as these are direct witnesses to their time and they supply us with concrete information. Albeit on a different scale, even literary papyri can be used in this respect.

The present study is committed to the conviction that a papyrus is a “physical object [which] is also a social artifact”⁶ and aims at giving prominence to the benefit of the scrutinizing of an original manuscript by way of *PVindob.G* 31974,⁷ part of the famous *PBeatty* I (P⁴⁵), kept in Vienna. It should be sufficient here to focus especially on the writing on the papyrus in its broadest sense, i.e. to conclude from the size of letters, writing conventions (for example, short forms), and the layout of a page (for example, the number of letters per line and lines per page), in order cautiously to tackle socio-historical issues⁸ with the help of the recto of *PVindob.G* 31974.⁹ Moreover, it must be asked what the individual papyrus can help us to find out about those days, above all the people that shine through them and come to light.¹⁰

The restriction to just one page is necessitated by the condition of the fragment itself. In order to avoid any further damage to the delicate papyrus that, due to its being turned and moved to detrimental effect over the years, the verso will be left alone. The aim pursued in this study can be achieved with the help of the recto alone, above all because the verso does not provide any phenomena that have not yet been observed on the recto,¹¹ with the exception of the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$ in line 19

1–23; Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, 1–3; Ehrman, ‘The Text as Window’, 361–79.

⁵ This aim is pursued by Cotton/Cockle/Millar, ‘The Papyrology’, 214–35, on grounds of a detailed list of papyri according to their geographical distribution.

⁶ Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 43.

⁷ In order to avoid misunderstandings or confusions the short form *PBeatty* I, customary among the relevant theological disciplines, is used for P⁴⁵ and not the abbreviation of the edition listed in the *Checklist of Editions*, in which the codex is published (then *PBeatty* II). Transcriptions are presented according to the so-called ‘Leiden System’. Cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 70–1, 187–8; Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung*, 18, 26.

⁸ Cf. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 43: “By observing precisely how the text was laid out, how it was written, and what it was written on or in one has access not only to the technical means of its production but also... to the social attitudes, motives, and contexts that sustained its life and shaped its meaning”.

⁹ On ‘recto’ and ‘verso’ see Turner, ‘Recto and Verso’, 102–6; idem, *The Terms Recto and Verso*.

¹⁰ Fundamental in this respect Harrauer, ‘Wie finden Papyri den Weg’, 15–9.

¹¹ See the notes in the following section (Editing process and description). There are: *spiritus asper* (line 4 over τ in $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), *diaeresis* (placed over initial υ of $\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ in line 17

on the verso. Nonetheless, that does not mean that the verso can be ignored for the accomplishment of a comprehensive critical edition or a detailed and autonomous treatment of *P.Vindob.G 31974*.¹²

1. *Editing Process and Description of P.Vindob.G 31974*

In 1930 H. Junker was able to purchase eight small pieces of papyrus of unknown provenance for the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, pieces which could be joined together despite their damaged condition and their delicate structure. H. Gerstinger¹³ identified and reconstructed the preserved text as Matthew 25:41–26:39 in his *editio princeps* and connected it with *P.Beatty I* (P⁴⁵). Just one year later A. Merk¹⁴ succeeded in assigning another fragment to the papyrus codex kept in Dublin (both fragments are not adjoined to each other), while it was only 1951 when G. Zuntz¹⁵ accomplished a new edition, in which he managed a detailed and reliable reconstruction of one page of the codex based on the Dublin and Vienna fragments.

On average the joined fragment is 5 cm broad and 21 cm high. Looking at the recto the rest of the bottom and adjoining right margin as well as some remains of the upper margin are preserved. There are 34 lines on the recto, but just 33 on the verso, due to the slightly larger letters in the upper part of the papyrus.¹⁶ The comparably small letters carried out in a regular and careful way in rich black ink are of equal height and breadth and, thus, take the same space each. Exceptional in this respect are only φ and υ with their corpus in the line but their baseline breaking the line downwards, and smaller ι and ο (above all in between τ and υ, where it is then enclosed in the middle

as well as over υ and following Ι of υιούς in line 31, the μεσή in lines 7, 8, 9 and so on. The *nomen sacrum* ἡ in line 12 of the recto is repeated in line 12 of the verso, too. See the brief compilation by Gerstinger, 'Ein Fragment', 68–9.

¹² Cf. the detailed examination of the reading variants on the verso by Zuntz, 'Reconstruction', 201–7, 211 (transcription and reconstruction). Indispensable are here the corrections by Hombert, 'Bulletin', 313.

¹³ Cf. Gerstinger, 'Ein Fragment', 67–72.

¹⁴ Cf. Merk, 'Codex Evangeliorum', 365–604.

¹⁵ Cf. Zuntz, 'Reconstruction' 191–211, and the corrections by Hombert, 'Bulletin', 313. Three additional fragments of *B.Beatty* (P⁴⁵) were published later on by Skeat/McGing, 'Notes', 21–5. The issues of codicology and stichometry are discussed by Skeat, 'A Codicological Analysis', 27–43.

¹⁶ The original in Vienna confirms Zuntz here. Gerstinger, 'Ein Fragment', 68, read 37 and 35 lines.

of the line-height as, for instance, in ll. 12, 19, 21: τογ). Further, all the unconnected and hook-less letters are slightly sloping to the right enforcing the aesthetically high impression of the hand,¹⁷ so that one may assume a trained scribe with a sure hand, possibly even a professional scribe behind the papyrus. This is confirmed by the absence of corrections (οὐκ in line 3 has to be considered explicitly later on), the correct orthography of the text, the absence of *itacism* and the secure layout of the column with adjusted line-beginnings, and letters that do not become smaller or squeezed together towards the line ends on the additional folios of the codex. *P.Vindob.G* 31974, and consequently *P.Beatty* (P⁴⁵) in general, is dated to the third century on the basis of paleographical data and comparisons.¹⁸

The *diaeresis* (or *trema*) placed over initial υ in line 9 (ὕμῖν) and ι in line 33 (ἵνα) as well as the *spiritus asper* above ι in line 30 (εἰς) are the only reading aids used.¹⁹ Furthermore, the only punctuation employed is the middle point, the μέση (clearly discernible in lines 18, 26, and 32).²⁰ A short horizontal line over the preceding letter stands for the missing ν in line 25 (τῇ for τήν).²¹ The regular presentation of *iota adscriptum* is also in accordance with common writing conventions (with the exception of line 28).²² The short forms of certain words usually denominated with the *terminus technicus* ‘*nomina sacra*’ (in lines 12 and 14) and the striking correction (in line 3) will be matter of discussion later on.

¹⁷ There are few calligraphic tendencies here (postulated by Gerstinger, ‘Ein Fragment’, 68) and the identification of “einer guten römischen Hand” is justified (see the too general decision of Aland, *Repertorium*, 270; against this, cf. the slope of the letters to the right). See further Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, viii–ix. Of additional interest are the paleographical descriptions by Zuntz, ‘Reconstruction’, 192–3.

¹⁸ The proposals go from the early to the late third century. An overview of the diverse dates suggested is provided by Aland, *Repertorium*, 269; Elliott/Parker, *The New Testament in Greek*, 17. Papyri for comparison in Gerstinger, ‘Ein Fragment’, 68.

¹⁹ Under a microscope two small dots placed over *iota* in ἵνα are visible. By contrast, a short horizontal line is placed over *ypsilon* in line 9 indicating *diaeresis* and over *iota* in line 30 as *spiritus asper*.

²⁰ Gerstinger, ‘Ein Fragment’, 69, refers to lines 7, 18, 25, 26, 32.

²¹ The original as well as Hombert, ‘Bulletin’, 313, help to correct Zuntz’s transcription (Zuntz, ‘Reconstruction’, 209). The stroke is obviously there on the reconstruction drawing printed on the previous page. Gerstinger, ‘Ein Fragment’, 70, just presents τη[ν for the end of line 15.

²² The scribe writes κ|ηρυχθῆ but keeps quiet about the final *iota* (for κηρυχθῆ).

2. Other Variant Readings of the Original not Integrated in Critical Editions

In view of what has been said about the critical editions of the Greek New Testament at the beginning of this study the variant readings²³ of *PVindob.G* 31974 recto not integrated in them should nevertheless be compiled here.²⁴ This illustrates that original manuscripts may offer additional variant readings,²⁵ no matter what relevance they will have individually and in the end for the reconstruction of the text. At the same time this puts the focus on the limits of all critical editions available so far.

For a swift orientation and comparison the text printed in NA²⁷ is given here, too:

Word order:

Matt 26:1	ll. 12–13	το]υς λογουc τουτουc ο ι̅ [ἡ ²⁶ παντας
	NA ²⁷	ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦτουc

Case:

Matt 26:5–6	ll. 18–19	]ιεντωιλαωι· τωι δ[ε / ιῆ γενομενωι
	NA ²⁷	ἐν τῷ λαῷ. Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου

Addition:

Matt 26:6	ll. 19–20	εν οικια ciμω]νοc ²⁷ του λεγομεν[ου / λεπρου
	NA ²⁷	ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ

²³ On the term ‘variant reading’ cf. Colwell/Tune, ‘Method’, 96–105; Epp, ‘Toward the Clarification’, 47–61; Fee, ‘On the Types’, 62–79.

²⁴ As the focus is exclusively put on *PVindob.G* 31974, I do not note any variant readings of the accompanying fragment in Dublin. These can found in Zuntz, ‘Reconstruction’, 198–211.

²⁵ The critical apparatus of NA²⁷, however, offers variant readings of *PVindob.G* 31974 recto as follows (printed within parentheses in the ongoing text of NA²⁷): Matt 26:7 or l. 21 γυνή ἀλαβασ]τρον εχουσα μυρου (NA²⁷ γυνή ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον), l. 21 επι την κεφα]λην (NA²⁷ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς).

²⁶ Gerstinger, ‘Ein Fragment’, 70, sincerely read ιῆ, but Zuntz, ‘Reconstruction’, 209, already read only ι[ῆ.

²⁷ Gerstinger, ‘Ein Fragment’, 70, reads the *omega* without any doubt and wrote ciμ]ωνoc, while Zuntz, ‘Reconstruction’, 209, transcribed it as a dubious letter, then ciμ]ωνoc. The current condition of the delicate fragment does not allow a decision whether the *omega* is a clearly legible or just a fragmentary and then dubious letter. H. Förster, Papyrus Collection, Vienna, has confirmed this.

It is an open question whether and what way the cited variant readings are essential for the reconstruction of the Greek New Testament.²⁸ However it is important to point at all the variant readings that are to be integrated in the forthcoming major edition (*Editio critica maior*) in order to illustrate that the apparatus of any critical edition available so far offered and could only offer a selection of all of the possible variant readings.

3. *Notes on the Writing on the Fragment*

The paleographical observations presented in section 2 point towards a scribe with a sure hand, who also attached importance to the outward appearance of his copy, above all to the clarity of the letters he wrote. Even at the end of the lines he neither squeezed together any letters nor reduced them in size. By contrast, he accepts slightly longer lines. Furthermore, the space saved on grounds of the small letters²⁹—as is to be shown—is partly used, and the page is filled by slightly adjusting the line spacing (but see the writing on *PBodmer* II, XIV, or XV). So it is obvious that such a manuscript is quite demanding and that the readers had to be highly concentrated and attentive.

The correction in line 3 strikes one immediately. A negation is added in thick ink above the line, probably with a different writing implement, above the line to correct the statement as regards content. Obviously, the parallel positive phrase in Matt 25:35 influenced the scribe, because otherwise the odd sense must have struck him.³⁰ Not only the thickness of the letters written but also the missing slope to the right and the same size of ο, υ, and κ manifest that this is a later addition by a different hand. There seemed to be somebody at work who did not aim at revising or correcting the manuscript (see below the later punctuation in the form of high points), because then a more appropriate writing implement would have been at hand immediately and the addition would have hardly happened that way.³¹ So the addition seems to have been a spontaneous decision.

²⁸ For example, for the word order in Greek, cf. Frisk, *Studien*; Dover, *Greek Word Order*, especially 4–30 and 259–78.

²⁹ This is also pointed out as a peculiarity by Skeat/McGing, ‘Notes’, 21.

³⁰ L. 3 ε]πειναα γαρ και `ουκ` εδωκατ[ε (Matt 25:42).

³¹ Among the numerous corrections of *PBodmer* II cf. the later addition of δε (John 5:22 turning οὐ into οὐδέ) and μη (John 5:23 ὁ μὴ τιμῶν τὸν υἱὸν...). On paleographi-

The particular short forms in *PVindob.G* 31974³² even more point further to the topic of reading and writing in those days.³³ In line 12 there is the suspension ι[η] (for Matt 26:1), in line 14 the contraction ἐρνᾱ[ι] (Matt 26:2), where ρ has a horizontal stroke crossing the vertical line to form a staurogram as ϙ³⁴ only present in *PBeatty I/PVindob.G* 31974 at this place. Thus, the scribe even regarded a verb (σταυρωθῆναι)—in this codex the only one marked as a *nomen sacrum*—as such a significant word that he marked it the way he did with the other *nomina sacra* θεός, κύριος, πατήρ, πνεῦμα, Ἰησοῦς, υἱός and just one time σταυρός (in Luke 14:27). With this the scribe's imagination comes to the fore, i.e. which words had a particular theological relevance to him. The suspension ιη represents a rare *nomen sacrum*³⁵ in comparison with the more frequent and later, exclusively used contraction that consists of the initial and the last letter of the word or the initial, an additional, and the last letter, for instance ιε or ιηc.³⁶ In this context the rare usage of ιη with χρ³⁷ in immediate succession for Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, only present once in

cal grounds it seems reasonable to assume that the original scribe also did the revision himself. The criteria for a scholar's edition of a manuscript from (late) antiquity are given by Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 92–3.

³² Like the concise editions of the Greek NT the forthcoming *Editio critica maior* will not indicate the usage of *nomina sacra*, which becomes clear from its first volume. By contrast, they are indicated clearly in the relevant volumes of the series *Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung* (ANT) and *International Greek New Testament Project* (IGNTP). Also with *nomina sacra* Comfort/Barrett, *The Complete Text*, 153. However, see the review by Parker, 'Review of Comfort/Barrett, *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament*'. The *nomina sacra* of *PVindob.G* 31974 are missing in the relevant apparatus 'B' in Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Matthew*, 255.

³³ For this topic see, among others, the most relevant studies by Youtie collected in his *Scriptiunculae* and *Scriptiunculae Posteriores*. Further see Kraus, '(II)Literacy', 322–41; idem, 'Slow writers', 86–97. About (school) instruction in the Greco-Roman world see Harrauer/Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students*, and the reviews by Vössing, Johnson, and Bucking.

³⁴ See also Gerstinger, 'Ein Fragment', 69. Without any reference Zuntz, 'Reconstruction', and without staurogram O'Callaghan, «*Nomina Sacra*», 64. On the staurogram cf. Bruun, 'Symboles', 156–60; Aland, 'Bemerkungen', 173–9; Dinkler, 'Älteste Christliche Denkmäler', 22–66.

³⁵ The relevant literature on the *nomina sacra* and witnesses to the practice of suspension is provided by Hurtado, 'The Origin', 655–73.

³⁶ *PBeatty I* has this short form throughout with the exception of two occurrences of ιηc. Cf. Kenyon, 'Nomina Sacra', 7; O'Callaghan, «*Nomina Sacra*», 48–9. C. Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments*, 158–72) interprets the only occurrence of the short form ιηc as suspension and transcribes Ἰησοῦς. Be that as it may, a definite decision whether the *sigma* stands for the first or second *sigma* of the word is not possible.

³⁷ Kenyon reconstructs for John 10:25 χρ̅c and for John 11:27 χ̅c, both of which do not have any backing in the whole codex in contrast to the suspension.

both, *PBeatty* I (in Acts 16:18) and *POxy*. VIII 1079 (P¹⁸; in Rev 1:5), has hardly ever been taken into account.³⁸ Although this particular succession is not present on *PVindob.G* 31974, it points to a very old system of abbreviation and marking, which was gradually superseded by the more common, contemporaneous, or later contraction.³⁹

4. *The Page Layout in Comparison with Other Papyri*

A closer examination of the page layout of a specific manuscript, i.e. of information on its page dimension, the length and number of its lines, enables us to draw some cautious conclusions about its potential purpose and its potential usage.⁴⁰ A simple compilation as the following immediately shows the peculiarity of the page layout of *PBeatty* I (P⁴⁵) or the reconstructed folio of *PVindob.G* 31974. The control sample

³⁸ Nonetheless, there is a reference to it by Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief*, 37. Aland, *Repertorium*, 'Index', additionally lists only the majuscule 0104 from the seventh century that bears witness to the suspension $\overline{\chi\rho}$. However, that manuscript has $\overline{\chi\rho}$ in another place.

³⁹ Especially the encounter of the *nomina sacra* for Ἰησοῦς Χριστός can create a problem for tracing the suspension $\overline{\eta\eta}$ back to the numerical value mentioned in Barn 9:7–8. $\overline{\chi\rho}$ in a papyrus from the third century (only here and in *POxy*. VIII 1079 [P⁷⁸] in immediate succession with the other suspension) must constitute an analogous formation to $\overline{\eta\eta}$. The abbreviation $\overline{\eta\eta} \overline{\chi\rho}$ reminds one of inscriptions from the same and later period of time. Cf. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations*, 72; Dölger, *Das Fischsymbol*, 263–4, 356–7, 359–6, 382–3, 386; Bruun, 'Symboles', 156; Dinkler, 'Älteste Christliche Denkmäler', 51–2. Nevertheless, the assumption of a numerical value is by no means groundless. It is surprising that in this context Luke 10:17 in *PBeatty* I has not yet been considered, where a numerical value is written analogously, namely $\overline{\sigma\beta}$ for ἐβδομήκοντα δύο. Additionally see *POxy*. LXVI 4499 with $\overline{\chi\tau\epsilon}$ for the number 616 in Rev 13:14. It is still not comprehensible why specific manuscripts that may be essential for the discussion of the phenomenon of *nomina sacra* are ignored, for instance, *PVindob.G* 2325, the so-called Fayûm-Gospel from the third century, which in line 5 (verso blank) reads the suspension $\overline{\pi\epsilon\tau}$ written in red ink with dots placed over π and τ , and which only here has some space left in front and after the short form. The small and narrow letters with a slight slope to the right share some similarities with those on *PVindob.G* 31974, but just at a first glance. About *PVindob.G* 2325, see above all Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments*, 173–7.

⁴⁰ Already Birt (*Das antike Buchwesen*, 256–80) tried to trace the average length of the line and size of a page by comparing relevant examples. Fundamental in this respect is Turner, *The Typology*. On miniature codices see further Roberts, *Manuscripts, Society, and Belief*, 10–2. Providing interesting examples in accordance with the title of his study Harrauer, 'Bücher in Papyri', 59–77.

comprises single-column papyrus codices, which as a rule are dated to the third century (or slightly earlier or later).⁴¹

Papyrus		page size	lines	letters
<i>PBeatty I/PVindob.G 31974*</i>	ⲡ ⁴⁵	25 × 20 cm	39–40	50
<i>POxy. 2</i>	ⲡ ¹	25 × 13	37–38	24–31
<i>POxy. 402</i>	ⲡ ⁹	14 × 11*	15	21–33
<i>POxy. 1008</i>	ⲡ ¹⁵	27 × 16*	38 ^v –37 ^r	22–28
<i>POxy. 1596</i>	ⲡ ²⁸	22/23 × 13*	25–26*	28–38*
<i>POxy. 1597</i>	ⲡ ²⁹	27/29 × 16*	38–41*	23–33*
<i>POxy. 1598</i>	ⲡ ³⁰	26 × 15*	34*	18–24*
<i>PBeatty II</i>	ⲡ ⁴⁶	28 × 16	26–32	28–38 ⁴²
<i>PBodmer II</i>	ⲡ ⁶⁶	16,2 × 14,2	14–25	18–28
<i>PBodmer VIII</i>	ⲡ ⁷²	16 × 14,5*	14–20	18–33
<i>PBodmer XIV/XV</i>	ⲡ ⁷⁵	26 × 13	38–45	25–36

* reconstructed

So it becomes evident that *PBeatty I/PVindob.G 31974* has by far the most letters per line, what is accompanied by the large number of lines per page, which is at the top of the selected papyrus codices above together with *POxy. 2*, 1008, 1597, and *PBodmer XIV/XV*. The slightly rectangular format of the page, however, is just average as far as its size is concerned. So, the papyri just mentioned offer a similar number of lines on slightly higher but clearly narrower pages. Correspondingly, there are obviously fewer letters per line on these. Therefore, the point can be made that despite small letters *PBeatty I/PVindob.G 31974* does not have a strikingly smaller line spacing, which nevertheless allows appropriate space in between the lines and at the same time consists of lines that are closer to each other than in the other papyrus codices. The width of the page, however, is used to write longer lines (with more letters). Further, the size and the relatively narrow succession of the letters certainly contribute to the high number of letters per line.⁴³ Despite the average size of the page, the small letters and the

⁴¹ Apart from the *editio princeps*, for a sufficient overview of the relevant data and the discussion of the respective dating proposals see Aland, *Repertorium*; idem, *Kurzgefaßte Liste*; van Haelst, *Catalogue*.

⁴² The number of lines and letters per line differs between the front (26–28 and about 28) and the back half of the codex (29–32 and about 38).

⁴³ This is easily illustrated by comparing the few images of the different manuscripts of the Chester Beatty group in Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri I–III*.

diacritical signs present⁴⁴ give cause to conclude that *PBeatty I/PVindob.G* 31974 was hardly meant and prepared for public reading, but probably for private purposes⁴⁵ or a usage within a relatively limited circle.⁴⁶ Nonetheless the opportunity to save space and pages was not seized, as can be seen by the size of letters and the line spacing, so that the smallness of the letters are not the result of the copyist's endeavor to save material and thus pages. As delineated earlier a small script—even if unconnected but sloping—is highly demanding for a reader and in comparison with most of the other manuscripts listed above it surely frustrates a public reading. The later punctuation added in thick ink (points and strokes at some places on the codex, always above the line and at the end of a sentence, but not preserved on *PVindob.G* 31974) also points towards a constant correcting or editing process meant to facilitate the readers' reading then.⁴⁷ In this respect we may refer to the general increase of the size of the biblical codices in the course of time (cf. the famous Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Vaticanus).⁴⁸ Of course, a usage for public purposes of the examined manuscript is by no means and generally ruled out (cf. the later inserted additional punctuation), but the observations made point in another direction.

PBeatty V (Rahlfs 962; third century) with passages from Genesis on pages 21 × 15.2 cm in size proves that the page layout of *PBeatty*

⁴⁴ However, the scarce usage or even absence of diacritical signs (cf., for instance, the fragment *POxy* LXV 4442 from a papyrus codex dated to the third century that contains LXX Exod 20:10–17, 18–22 written in majuscules of usual size) should not be employed as an independent argument for a specific function of a manuscript, a reasoning that appears to be self-evident. Nonetheless, a compilation of pieces of circumstantial evidence may function as a basis for carefully drawn conclusions.

⁴⁵ Testuz's conclusion on the grounds of the dimensions of the pages of 15.5 × 14.2 cm that *PBodmer VII, VIII* (P⁷²), and IX (with Psalms 33 and 34) was used privately, may also have been drawn on the basis of the unusual compilation of Jude and 1 and 2 Peter in one manuscript and the other Chester Beatty papyri, for which a public reading, for instance, in a liturgy, is hardly conceivable, and the personal ending of manuscripts with εἰρήνη τῷ γράψοντι καὶ τῷ ἀναγνώσκοντι (να later added by the same writer placed over the line)...

⁴⁶ In antiquity or late antiquity reading principally meant reading out loud in most cases, no matter if it was reading on one's own or for others. See here, among many others, Balough, 'Voces Paginarum', 84–109; Blanck, *Das Buch*, 71–4; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 203–8.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kenyon, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* II, ix. See further Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 74, 227–30. In this context it is important to note that the names in Acts 15:41–16:1 are marked by a preceding and following dot placed above the line (·κυριας·, ·κιλικιας·, ·δερβην·, ·τιμοθεος·).

⁴⁸ Cf. Blanck, *Das Buch*, 87. More generally Turner, *The Typology*; Roberts/Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*; *Les débuts du codex*.

I/*PVindob.G* 31974 is not a unique phenomenon. There are written between 47 and 51 letters written in only 18 to 19 lines per page. This is the more astounding that the pages are plainly less wide than those of the Chester Beatty Gospel codex. This single example, however, becomes immediately relevant in regard to the size of the letters and their form (slightly cursive), because further examples of papyrus codices from about the third century with passages from the Greek Old Testament confirm the impression that *PBeatty I/PVindob.G* 31974 is definitely outstanding.

<i>POxy.</i> 656	Rahlfs 905	17,5 × 20 cm	up to 43	up to 24 ⁴⁹
<i>PBeatty</i> VIII	Rahlfs 966	30,5 × 15,2*	48*	21–27*
<i>PVindob.G</i> 2320 ⁵⁰	Rahlfs 948	28,5 × 31*	33–35	23–32*
<i>PBeatty</i> IV (4th century)	Rahlfs 961	21,6 × 15,2	36–42	14

5. Result and Prospect

The results and conclusions already presented in the course of this examination of *PVindob.G* 31974 recto (sometimes including *PBeatty I*) should be looked at with some reservation and caution. Some essential aspects, however, can be stressed nonetheless. We may be dealing with a professional scribe commissioned to write the manuscript, with an educated slave as a scribe. Be that as it may, in this respect a sound and reliable conclusion is not possible. But we can postulate that the person writing is a trained and educated scribe, which can be deduced from the scribe's hand and the orthographical reliability (for instance, there are no writing mistakes). Furthermore, the scribe succeeded in lending the manuscript a certain aesthetic external appearance resulting from his careful writing. He is certainly familiar with the writing conventions in Christian manuscripts at that time, as he employs a particular short form of the *nomina sacra*, the suspension. The scribe's imagination becomes visible in the short forms used, i.e. by the selection of words and names he finally regarded as theologically more significant than others, so that he indicated them.

⁴⁹ For the exact measures of the four fragments of *POxy.* IV 656 see the *editio princeps* and the information provided in van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 13, and Aland, *Repertorium*, 79.

⁵⁰ Published as *Stud.Pal.* IX 1.

The layout of the papyrus points towards the purpose and usage of that manuscript. In this context care and preciseness, hand writing and layout, and even the scarce use of diacritical signs on the original scribe's side play an important role, because they are aids for readers to interpret a manuscript written in *scriptio continua*.⁵¹ Thus, the relatively small letters that slope to the right, the high number of letters in each line, and the number of lines within the first third of the codices compiled for a kind of synoptical comparison, but at the same time only an average dimension of the page, make it difficult to imagine a public reading. The fact that a scribe has added punctuation above the line⁵² confirms that the manuscript was rather originally made for a private use or meant for a small circle of people. Be that as it may, it remains unquestionable that the page layout and the writing are far more demanding for the reader than most of the other papyri listed for comparative reasons above. The correction οὐκ written in a different hand and with another writing implement seems to have originated from a spontaneous correction of an unacceptable omission distorting the meaning. Not only was it important to check a text, the process of checking, as demonstrated by this manuscript, could even happen without any previous decision to do so.

So an approach to the socio-cultural background takes place only slowly, if at all. But there are some definite clues in tradition and history (next to pieces of text-critical information), which are significant for an understanding of early Christianity. These are clues, which may lead to answers to questions relevant in this context: what was the value of a text? How was it written onto a papyrus? Which peculiarities offer a window through which the scribe becomes visible? What turns a certain papyrus into a unique fingerprint of its time? More generally asked: what is it a specific papyrus can tell us today?

It is to be hoped that these very questions will be addressed more and more and that biblical textual witnesses will not primarily and solely be used for the reconstruction of the texts, for instance of the New Testament, but will always be seen as direct, invaluable, and extant artifacts of a past and distant time.⁵³

⁵¹ See also Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 229–31.

⁵² Kenyon, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* II, ix, has already referred to this.

⁵³ A research project at the 'Institut für Neutestamentliche Bibelwissenschaft' at the University of Salzburg is dedicated to the utilization of papyri for investigations into



Addenda

After my study was published a new and revised edition of the volume by Philipp W. Comfort and David A. Barrett appeared, which however is no less problematic than the one by Baker Books.⁵⁴ In note 53 I refer to a project of the ‘Institut für Neutestamentliche Bibelwissenschaft’ at the University of Salzburg aiming at utilizing papyri, i.e. basically documentary papyri, for a better socio-cultural understanding of the New Testament. In 2003 the first volume of the new series *Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament* (PKNT) edited by Peter Arzt-Grabner (Salzburg), Amphilochius Papatthomas (Athens), and Mauro Pesce (Bologna) was available from the printers Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht focusing on the Letter to Philemon, into which the author, Arzt-Grabner, could incorporate most of his earlier findings and observations previously published (see above, my note 53). The second volume of the series has just recently appeared and deals with the First Letter to the Corinthians.⁵⁵

While talking about *nomina sacra*⁵⁶ in *P.Vindob.G* 31974 I pointed out that this system of short forms highlights “which words had a particular theological relevance to him [= the scribe]”. After having dealt with various manuscripts and having been confronted with quite a variation of forms of shortening words—no matter whether they may be denominated as abbreviations, short forms, holy names or the Latin equivalent *nomina sacra*—I would not daresay that the practice of employing specific forms in a manuscript necessarily tells anything about the theological implications on the scribe’s side. Convention, analogy, similarity, one’s own practice, or the usage in the ‘Vorlage’ a scribe copied, these all are further potential motivations for a specific form of shortening words. Consequently and accompanied by my caution having grown

the New Testament. See Arzt/Ernst, ‘Neues Testament und Papyrologie’, 11–8; Arzt, ‘Analyse der Paulusbriefe’, 99–114; idem, ‘Ägyptische Papyri’, 21–9. See further, addressing the illiterate formulae in documentary papyri, Kraus, ‘Uneducated’, 434–49.

⁵⁴ Cf. Comfort/Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, and the reviews by Robinson, ‘Review of Comfort/Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament*’, and Rodgers, ‘Review of Comfort/Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament*’, 405–8. See further the notes of Passoni Dell’Acqua, ‘Biblica in papyris. IV (2003)’, 151.

⁵⁵ Cf. Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon*; idem (ed.), *1. Korinther*.

⁵⁶ On *nomina sacra* see now Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 95–134, although his conclusions have to be discussed further.

over the years in this respect, I refrain from attributing the contraction $\overline{\epsilon\pi\nu\alpha}[\iota]$ (for $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\omega\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$) to any certain theological background and regard it as simply an analogy to the shortened $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (in Luke 14:27). Of course, then we are still missing a convincing explanation of what finally accounted for the staurogram⁵⁷ (Φ , formed by ρ and a horizontal line).

In my long note 39 I reflected upon suspensions in early Christian manuscripts and pointed at Luke 10:17 in *PBeatty* I, where the numerical value $\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ is written as $\overline{\omicron\beta}$. Apparently and not cited above, *PBodm.* XIV (\mathfrak{P}^{75}) bears witness to this, too.⁵⁸ Additionally, *PRyl.* III 464 from the 3rd century, which is discussed as astrological text and as extract from an apocryphal Gospel, bears witness to the suspension $\overline{\eta}$ in l. 12 of the verso, too.⁵⁹

In note 46 I repeated the standard assertion that reading in antiquity was mainly “reading out loud in most cases, no matter if it was reading on one’s own or for others”. However, in a fine article published in 2002 Carsten Burfeind⁶⁰ provided sound evidence for silent reading alone in private and reassessed some *loci classici*, i.e. usual witnesses to loud reading in private. Even if the possibility of reading aloud as the preferred public practice is untouched by that, and private individual reading might have been done in a loud voice here and there, Burfeind legitimately and convincingly questions the absoluteness of the standard notion.

It is no wonder that *PBeatty* I keeps on attracting the attention of scholars, due to its age, quality, and contents.⁶¹ In December 2000 a conference organized by the Chester Beatty Library was dedicated to the famous codex and experts in the field met to discuss the most prominent

⁵⁷ On the staurogram see now Hurtado, ‘The Staurogram’, 207–26, referring to \mathfrak{P}^{45} 209, 213–7, 223, and idem, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 135–54.

⁵⁸ See Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Luke*, 189. However, Swanson lists \mathfrak{P}^{45} among those witnesses with $\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$.

⁵⁹ So, for the suspension $\overline{\eta}$ see *PVindob.G* 31974/*PBeatty* II (\mathfrak{P}^{45}); *PEgerton* 2 with *PKöln* VI 255; *POxy.* II 210; VIII 1079 (\mathfrak{P}^{18}); X 1224; *PRyl.* III 464; *Magdalen College Gr.* 18 (\mathfrak{P}^{64}).

⁶⁰ Cf. Burfeind, ‘Wen hörte Philipus?’, 138–45.

⁶¹ For instance, (putting the focus on Mark) see Lafleur, ‘Les relations’, 289–306, and Martin, ‘Le palimpseste syriaque’, 307–28. See the notes by Passoni Dell’Acqua, ‘Biblica in papyris. IV (2003)’, 147–9.

issues linked with *PBeatty* I.⁶² The Chester Beatty Gospel Codex offers some singular readings that have often been a matter of controversy: does the codex preserve a specifically old and trustworthy form of text or is it to be ruled out by other significant manuscripts?⁶³ Moreover, in her enlightening conference paper Barbara Aland addresses the importance of the codex in early church history.⁶⁴ Being dependent on Colin H. Roberts⁶⁵ and his positive assessment of the hands found in the longer early Christian papyri in the first section ('The Writing Style of the Biblical Papyri', 108–9), she then also focuses on singular readings, before, in a second section (that is of primary interest in our context) she identifies the codex as an example of the "Scribal Reformed Documentary Style" (110–7). Leaving aside this attribution—it may be a matter of discussion whether the hands of a biblical manuscript and documentary hands can really be associated with each other that way—Aland's statements about the fine quality of *PBeatty* I support the observations made with the help of *PVindob.G* 31974.⁶⁶ Near the end of my study I make some suggestions how to define the scribe according to paleography, calling him "a professional scribe commissioned to write the manuscript, with an educated slave as a scribe". Without doubt, the attribution to an educated slave goes quite far, possibly too far, as Aland correctly notes (112 n. 21). Today I do not use the term 'slave' and 'educated' in this context, but repeat the first part of the definition, which Aland agreed to as well: "a professional scribe commissioned to write the manuscript."⁶⁷ Without doubt the scribe with

⁶² The title of the conference was 'The World and its beginning' and its proceedings (all the papers delivered with an additional one) were published as Horton, *The Earliest Gospels*.

⁶³ See Elliott, 'Singular Readings', 122–31.

⁶⁴ Cf. Aland, 'The Significance', 108–21.

⁶⁵ Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*.

⁶⁶ Even if she concentrates on textual matters, her conclusions (110–1) are very similar to the ones drawn above in my study. Basically, the possibility of "rapidly copying a text" (110) for *PBeatty* I seems ambiguous as long as "rapidly" is not defined any further. The letters on *PVindob.G* 31974 and *PBeatty* I respectively are not linked with each other (ligatures or juxtaposition), something that excludes a rapid and fluent copying process with cursive tendencies visible, but the sloping letters indicate that the writing speed must have been faster than that of a hand producing unconnected upright majuscules. On 'fast writing' see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 1–3.

⁶⁷ However, there is some confusion in the reference given in her paper (the correct reference should be p. 14 in both cases, and cited as "einen beauftragten, professionellen Schreiber").

such a sure hand and with so few (obvious) mistakes has produced a reliable and extraordinary copy (112) and might have been a Christian himself (113).⁶⁸

The recently published catalogue of an exhibition in the *Bibelhaus am Museumsufer* in Frankfurt, Germany, contains a color photograph of the recto of *P.Vindob.G 31974*, a short description, and a German translation of Matt 25:46–26:18.⁶⁹

Bibliography

- Aland, B., ‘Sind Schreiber früher neutestamentlicher Handschriften Interpreten des Textes’, in: J.W. Childers/D.C. Parker (eds.), *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (TaS 3.4; Piscataway/NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006) 114–22.
- , ‘The Significance of the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri in Early Church History’, in: Horton, *The Earliest Gospel*, 108–21.
- , et al. (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior IV: Die katholischen Briefe 1: Der Jakobusbrief. Teil 1/Text und 2/Begleitende Materialien* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997).
- Aland, K. (ed.), *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I: Biblische Papyri: Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen* (PTS 18; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976).
- , ‘Bemerkungen zum Alter und zur Entstehung des Christogramms anhand von Beobachtungen bei P⁶⁶ und P⁷⁵’, in: K. Aland (ed.), *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (ANT 2; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1967) 173–79.
- , et al. (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).
- , et al. (eds.), *The Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1994).
- , *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANT 1; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994).
- Amphoux, C.-B./Elliott, J.K. (eds.), *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity. Proceedings of the Lille colloquium, July 2000/Le Texte du Nouveau Testament au début de christianisme.*

⁶⁸ See here also Aland, ‘Sind Schreiber’, 119 and 122, who denotes the scribe of P⁴⁵ as an intelligent scribe who intends to copy the text in a reliable and comprehensible way, although he omits, transposes, and harmonizes the texts in order to achieve a text without any superfluous words and long-winded phrases (119).

⁶⁹ Cf. Schefzyk, *Alles ECHT*, no. 2 (86–7). The catalogue provides some information about how the *Chester Beatty* papyri were found: “Gefunden wurden diese Papyri 1930 in Tonkrügen in einem koptischen Friedhof bei Aphroditopolis gegenüber der Oase Fayum an der Ostseite des Nils.” (“The papyri were found in clay jugs in a Coptic graveyard near Aphroditopolis opposite the Fayûm oasis on the east side of the Nile.”)

- Actes du colloque de Lille, Juillet 2000* (Histoire du Texte biblique 6; Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, 2003).
- Arzt, P., 'Ägyptische Papyri und das Neue Testament. Zur Frage der Vergleichbarkeit von Texten', *PzB* 6 (1997) 21–9.
- , 'Analyse der Paulusbrieve vor dem Hintergrund dokumentarischer Papyri', *PzB* 3 (1994) 99–114.
- /Ernst, M., 'Neues Testament und Papyrologie', *Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg 1989–1991* (Salzburg: Roman Kovar, 1993) 11–8.
- Arzt-Grabner, P., *Philemon* (PKNT 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).
- , (ed.), *1. Korinther* (by P. Arzt-Grabner, R.E. Kritzer, A. Papatthomas, F. Winter; PKNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).
- Avi-Yonah, M., *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions* (QDAPSup. to vol. 9; Jerusalem-London: Publ. for the Government of Palestine by Humphrey Milford, 1940).
- Balough, J., 'Voces Paginarum: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens', *Philologus* 82 (1927) 84–109, 202–40.
- Birt, T., *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Literatur* (Aalen: Scientia, 1882).
- Blanck, H., *Das Buch in der Antike* (Munich: Beck, 1992).
- Bover, J.M./O'Callaghan, J., *Nuevo Testamento Trilingüe* (Madrid: BAC, 21988).
- Bruun, P., 'Symboles, signes et monogrammes', in: H. Zilliacus (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Christianarum Veterum Musei Vaticani II: Commentarii* (Helsinki-Helsingfors: Tilgmann, 1963) 156–60.
- Bucking, S., 'Review of Cribiore, Writing', *BASP* 36 (1999) 191–203.
- Burfieind, C., 'Wen hörte Philippus? Leises Lesen und lautes Vorlesen in der Antike', *ZNW* 93 (2002) 138–45.
- Colwell, E.C./Tune, E.W., 'Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings', in: E.C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1969) 96–105.
- Comfort, P.W./Barrett, D.P. (eds.), *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999).
- , *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts. New and Complete Transcriptions with Photographs* (Wheaton: Tyndale House Publ., 2001).
- Cotton, H.M./Cockle, W.E.H./Millar, F.G.B., 'The Papyrology of the Roman Near East', *JRS* 85 (1995) 214–35.
- Cribiore, R., *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (ASP 36; Atlanta/Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996).
- Dik, H., *Word Order in Ancient Greece. A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 5; Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1995).
- Dinkler, E., 'Älteste Christliche Denkmäler', in: P.C. Finney (ed.), *Art, Archaeology, and Architecture of Early Christianity* (Studies in Early Christianity 18; New York-London: Taylor & Francis, 1993) 22–66.
- Dölger, F.J., *Das Fisch-Symbol in frühchristlicher Zeit. IXΘΥC als Kürzung der Namen Jesu* (Münster: Aschendorff, 21928).
- Dover, K.J., *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).
- Ehrman, B.D., 'The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity', in: Ehrman/Holmes, *Text*, 361–79.
- Elliott, J.K., *A Survey of Manuscripts used in Editions of the Greek New Testament* (NTS 57; Leiden: Brill, 1987).
- , 'Singular Readings in the Gospel Text of P⁴⁵', in: Horton, *The Earliest Gospel*, 122–31.
- Elliott, W.J./Parker, D.C. (eds.), *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to St. John I: The Papyri* (NTTS 20; Leiden: Brill, 1995).
- Epp, E.J., 'Toward the Clarification of the Term "Textual Variant"', in: idem/G.D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (StD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 47–61.

- Fee, G.D., 'On the Types, Classification, and Presentation of Textual Variation', in: Epp/Fee, *Studies*, 62–79.
- Frisk, H., *Studien zur griechischen Wortstellung* (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 39; Göteborg: Göteborgs Universitet, 1933).
- Gamble, H.Y., *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- Gerstinger, H., 'Ein Fragment des Chester Beatty-Evangelienkodex in der Papyrus-sammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Pap. graec. Vindob. 31974)', *Aeg* 13 (1933) 68–9.
- Hagedorn, D., 'Papyrologie', in: H.-G. Nesselrath (ed.), *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (Einleitung in die Altertumskunde; Stuttgart-Leipzig: Teubner, 1997) 62–70.
- Harrauer, H., 'Bücher in Papyri', in: H.W. Lang (ed.), *Flores litterarum. Ioanni Marte sexagenario oblata. Wissenschaft in der Bibliothek* (Biblos. Schriften 163; Vienna: Böhlau, 1995) 59–77.
- , 'Wie finden Papyri den Weg nach Wien—und was haben sie uns zu sagen?', *PzB* 6 (1997) 15–19.
- /Sijpesteijn, P.J. (eds.), *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht. Textband* (MPER N.S. XV; Vienna: Hollinek, 1985).
- Hombert, M., 'Bulletin Papyrologique XXV', *REG* 66 (1953) 313.
- Horton, C., *The Earliest Gospels. The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels—The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P⁴⁵* (JSNT.S 258; London-New York: T&T Clark International, 2004).
- Hurtado, L.W., *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).
- , 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra: A Proposal', *JBL* 117 (1998) 655–673.
- , 'The Staurogram in Early Christian Manuscripts: The Earliest Visual Reference to the Crucified Jesus?', in: T.J. Kraus/T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (Texts and Editions of New Testament Study 2; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 207–26.
- Johnson, W.A., 'Review of Cribiore, Writing', *CP* 93 (1998) 276–9.
- Kenyon, F.G., 'Nomina Sacra in the Chester Beatty Papyri', *Aeg* 13 (1933) 7.
- Kraus, T.J., '(Il)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects of the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times', *Mn.* 53 (2000) 322–41.
- , "'Slow writers"—βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?', *Ex* 97 (1999) 86–97.
- , "'Uneducated", "ignorant", or even "illiterate"? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4.13', *NTS* 45 (1999) 434–49.
- Lafleur, D., 'Les relations, au sens de groupe "Césaréen" entre le Papyrus Chester Beatty (P⁴⁵) et la Famille Ferrar (F¹³), dans l'Évangile de Marc', in: Amphoux/Elliott, *The New Testament Text*, 289–306.
- Les débuts du codex: Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris les 3 et 4 juillet 1985 par l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne* (Bibliologia 9; Turnhout: Brepols, 1989).
- Martin, A.G., 'Le palimpseste syriaque du Sinaï et les variants du papyrus P⁴⁵', in: Amphoux/Elliott, *The New Testament Text*, 307–28.
- Merk, A., 'Codex Evangeliorum et Actuum ex collectione P Chester Beatty', *Miscellanea Biblica* 2 (1934) 365–406.
- , *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, ⁹1964).
- Metzger, B.M., *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, ²1994).
- O'Callaghan, J., «*Nomina Sacra*» in *Papyris graecis saeculi III neotestamentariis* (AnBib 46; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970).

- Passoni Dell'Acqua, A., 'Biblica in papyris. IV (2003)', in: M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri e ostraka greci* (Pap.Lup. XIII; Lecce: Congedo Editore, 2004) 123–53.
- Parker, D.C., 'Review of Comfort/Barrett, *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament*', *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [<http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/TC.html>] 4 (1999).
- Pestman, P.W., *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden: Brill, ²1994).
- Roberts, C.H., *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1977* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- /Skeat, T.C., *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- Robinson, M.A., 'Review of Comfort/Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament*', *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* [<http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/TC.html>] 6 (2001).
- Rodgers, P.R., 'Review of Comfort/Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*', *NT* 45 (2003) 405–8.
- Rupprecht, H.A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Schefzyk, J. (ed.), *Alles ECHT. Älteste Belege zur Bibel aus Ägypten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006).
- Schubart, W., 'Papyruskunde', in: A. Gercke/E. Norden (eds.), *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft I* (Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, ³1927) 9.32–43.
- , *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918).
- Silva, M., 'Modern Critical Editions and Apparatuses of the Greek New Testament', in: B.D. Ehrman/M.W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (StD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 283–96.
- Skeat, T.C., 'A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of the Gospels and Acts (P45)', *Her.* 155 (1993) 27–43 = *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Introduced and edited by J.K. Elliott; NTS 113; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004) 141–57.
- /McGing, B.C., 'Notes on Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus I (Gospels and Acts)', *Hermathena* 150 (1991) 21–25 = *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Introduced and edited by J.K. Elliott; NTS 113; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004) 135–40.
- Souter, A., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1947).
- Swanson, R.J. (ed.), *New Testament Greek Manuscripts. Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Matthew* (Sheffield-Pasadena: Sheffield Academic Press-William Carey International University Press, 1995).
- (ed.), *New Testament Greek Manuscripts. Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Luke* (Sheffield-Pasadena: Sheffield Academic Press-William Carey International University Press, 1995).
- Turner, E.G., 'Recto and Verso', *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–106.
- , *The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie, Bruxelles, 25 August–3 September 1977; Pap.Brux. XVI–XIX; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabet, 1978).
- , *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (ed. P.J. Parsons) (BICS.S 46; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, ²1987).
- , *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980).
- , *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).
- Vogels, H.J., *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (Freiburg-Barcelona: Herder Verlag, ⁴1955).
- Vössing, K., 'Schreiben lernen, ohne lesen zu können? Zur Methode des antiken Elementarunterrichts', *ZPE* 123 (1998) 121–5.

Wessely, C., *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus* (PO 4,2; Paris 1906; repr. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985).

Youtie, H.C., *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).

——, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).

Zuntz, G., 'Reconstruction of one Leaf of the Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Gospels and Acts (P⁴⁵)', *CEg* 26 (1951) 201–207, 211.

CHAPTER FOUR

POxy. V 840—AMULET OR MINIATURE CODEX? PRINCIPAL AND ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON TWO TERMS*

In a recent study Michael J. Kruger has asked questions about the original purpose and usage of *POxy*. V 840 (*Bodl. MS Gr. th. g* 11 [P]) and the principal distinction between amulets and miniature codices.¹ This rather is the more significant as, since its publication and the initial discussion of this small parchment leaf with writing on both pages, the actual condition of the object itself and the palaeographical data (writing, ink, layout, orthography, punctuation etc.) have been widely neglected. Moreover, hypotheses once formed in the beginning of commenting on *POxy*. V 840—including the identification as amulet and/or miniature codex—were and still are just taken over² and an independent assessment of the fragment with the help of all data available, i.e. also palaeographical observations, has not taken place.³

* Originally published as ‘*POxy*. V 840—Amulett oder Miniaturkodex? Grundsätzliche und ergänzende Anmerkungen zu zwei Termini’, *ZAC/JAC* 8 (2005) 485–497. Used with kind permission.

¹ Cf. Kruger, ‘*P. Oxy*. 840’, 81–94.

² See Kruger, ‘*P. Oxy*. 840’, 81–82 (literature). L. Blau (‘Das neue Fragment’, 207–11), for instance, takes over the wrong assumption formed by E. Preuschen (‘Das neue Evangelienfragment’, 2) that the fragment is “von hinten nach vorn geschrieben” (‘written from the back to the front [of the manuscript]’) and even overemphasizes that by stating it offers “umgekehrtes Schreiben” (‘reverse writing’; 211) without having had a look at the original and ignoring the *editio princeps* by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt. Obviously, Preuschen did not understand the terms *recto* and *verso* as being used by Grenfell and Hunt in those days (see below n. 11). In addition to Kruger’s bibliography see Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 164. D. Lührmann states: “Der ungewöhnliche Charakter des Fragments läßt vielleicht auf eine Verwendung als Amulett schließen.” (‘The unusual character of the fragment may cause the assumption that it is an amulet.’) Nonetheless, he does not mention in what respect the fragment is unusual and why it should be an amulet.

³ In this respect (in favor of identifying the fragment as an amulet) Jeremias/Schneemelcher, *NTApo* ⁶I 81; Bovon, ‘Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840’, 706 n. 5; Klauck, *Apokryphe Evangelien*, 40 (but with reservations indicated by the word “vielleicht” [‘maybe’]).

With the help of the database provided by Joseph van Haelst⁴ and Eric G. Turner⁵ and a fundamental orientation to the kind and use of amulets, Kruger reaches the conclusion that “it is remarkable how well *P.Oxy.* 840... fits within the general pattern of other miniature books”.⁶ And this is exactly the ‘pattern’ he draws up from cornerstones of fragments that are written on one or two sides (and then the relationship of the two pages to each other), content and length of a preserved text, the outer appearance (size and folding) and the material (parchment or papyrus) of manuscript. With this he makes a decisive contribution to the individual treatment of *P.Oxy.* V 840, which hopefully will take place in the future, i.e. without any reflexive dependency on the canonical Gospels and potential insights into their genesis or possible literary links between this and those.⁷ Moreover, I can only lend weight to Kruger’s hope at the end of his study that the implications of the term ‘amulet’ will be appreciated more seriously and the term itself will be used more carefully in the future, without any rash theological value judgments.⁸

Even if van Haelst’s catalogue and Turner’s typology are incomplete⁹—a retrospective demand that both volumes cannot fulfill anyway—and even if thus here and there a correction and updating would be necessary,¹⁰ Kruger succeeds in gathering enough clues for his conclusions. A palaeographical description or the details supplied by the *editio princeps*

⁴ Cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*.

⁵ Cf. Turner, *The Typology*.

⁶ Kruger, ‘P. Oxy. 840’, 92.

⁷ For an unbiased and independent treatment of those texts that have become apocryphal, see Porter, ‘The Greek Apocryphal Gospels Papyri’, 795–803; Kraus, ‘P.Vindob.G 2325’, 197–8.

⁸ In this respect I intend to achieve this goal by accomplishing a critical edition of objects with verses of Septuagint-Psalm 90 on papyrus, parchment, wood, stone (lintels, sarcophagi, walls), bronze, and silver (armbands, rings), which are written on its own or together with other texts in the specific function as an amulet or as expression of apotropaic magic.

⁹ According to information of Alain Blanchard at the Université de la Sorbonne (Papyrologie Sorbonne), Paris, a second updated edition of Joseph van Haelst’s catalogue (*Catalogue des papyrus*) is in the process of formation (email published on the papyrological forum PAPY—papy@listserv.hum.ku.dk—from January 16, 2003). In this context, all the supplements to van Haelst’s catalogue and to Kurt Treu’s annual survey of Christian texts until recently published by Cornelia Römer in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung (APF)* and now partly available on the Internet on the pages of the Department of Greek and Latin, University College London (cf. Römer, ‘Christliche Texte VI’, [499–450] 450, and <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/GrandLat/research/christianpapyri.htm>; last access 29/08/2006).

¹⁰ See Kruger, ‘P. Oxy. 840’, 90–1.

in this regard, however, have not been included so far in the argument, which data help to verify the hypothesis that *POxy. V 840* was rather used as a (miniature) codex than as an ‘amulet’.

This is exactly the hypothesis that will be hold in this study. Additionally, an interpretation of the data that is going to be collected here will be carried out in regard to Kruger’s description of the problem. The observations presented in the *editio princeps* and quality color photographs at my disposal of the flesh and hair sides of the parchment leaf *POxy. V 840* kept in the *Bodleian Library* in Oxford (*Bodl. MS. Gr. th. g 11 [P]*) will serve this purpose. This is followed by critical questions about the proposed potential polarity between ‘miniature codex and (or better *versus*) amulet’ and a typology of the category ‘miniature codex’ as such.

1. *POxy. V 840—The Results from Palaeography*

The parchment leaf is only 7.4×8.8 cm large and has writing on both sides. Besides, the scribe successfully arranges 22 (hair side; recto) and 23 lines (flesh side; verso)¹¹ with 24 to 32 letters per line on the small parchment leaf that is complete with the exception of the loss of the left hand bottom corner, which is diagonally broken off (when looking at the verso). With regard to stichometry the scribe adjusts shorter lines by leaving striking blanks (see recto l. 7 with 24 letters, verso l. 8 with 24 letters; analogously verso l. 19). Despite the narrowness and the smallness of the letters the text is very readable.

P.Vindob. G 31974—the Vienna leaf of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex, i.e. *PBeatty I*¹² or \mathfrak{P}^{45} —may serve here as a means of comparison: there the scribe filled the lines of the 20×25 cm large papyrus with 50 tiny letters, but he did not decrease line spacing (in contrast to *POxy. V 840*). So, the total number of letters per lines of the codex are above average, while the total number of lines per page are at best average.¹³

¹¹ The attribution of ‘recto’ and ‘verso’ denotes here the sequence of writing or text (correspondingly noted on the photographs or in van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 585). Grenfell and Hunt use the terms hair side = verso and flesh side = recto, because the latter is in most instances the lighter and therefore better legible, and often first page of a parchment leaf written on. This is taken over by Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 166–9. On recto and verso see above n. 2 and Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung*, 19–21.

¹² *PBeatty I* is the customary short form among the relevant theological disciplines. According to the *Checklist of Editions* the official abbreviation is *PBeatty II*.

¹³ See Kraus, ‘*Ad fonts: Gewinn*’, 10–15 and plate.

This is almost similar to the two hands of *POxy.* V 842¹⁴ or the hand of *PVat.Gr.* 11.¹⁵ Nevertheless, *POxy.* V 843¹⁶ clearly demonstrates that a certain smallness of letters may not necessarily cause lines with many letters: there the scribe arranged the lines with some distance between each other and wrote the letters with ample space in between. Yet, it is not a judgment of quality in a positive or negative way in comparison with *POxy.* V 840 to state about a scribe's hand that "the character of the writing is less in keeping with that of the page", as is the case for the letter distribution on the 6.6 × 7.5 cm large page of the miniature codex *PRyl.* I 28, which consists of 8 papyrus folios, i.e. 4 bifolia, and preserves text from Pseudo-Melampous, *Περὶ παλμῶν μαντικής*, because the biblical majuscule there is obviously confidently formed.

The parchment used for *POxy.* V 840 is of fine and even quality. The writing of the reverse side is slightly shining through, but remains fainter than the writing of the side looked at. The leaf is in fine condition with the exception of a diagonal loss of papyrus (in the left hand bottom corner when looking at the verso), sporadic traces of later darkening, and some occasional holes, but because of the preserved four margins the dimensions of the page can easily be established (see below). The scribe employed two different types of ink: in principle, he used a strong brown ink, which now here and there has a tinge of red and which may be responsible for some of the holes in the text; for marking some specific elements he also used red ink (see below). In the course of cataloguing '840' is written down in the right hand corner (when looking at the recto) in red ink.

The hand of the scribe can be qualified by the way the letters are formed and carried out: small and hardly regular, round and upright,¹⁷ the letters hardly written fluently and separated from each other, i.e. without any ligatures and clearly discernible juxtapositions. Thus, the

¹⁴ Cf. the *editio princeps* by Grenfell/Hunt (*POxy.* V 842, with plate IV–V); Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, no. 17b; Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* II, no. 42.

¹⁵ Cf. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* II, no. 30.

¹⁶ Cf. the *editio princeps* by Grenfell/Hunt (*POxy.* V 843, with plate VI), and Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 132 and illustration 88.

¹⁷ The details presented in the *editio princeps* about the hand of the scribe are inappropriately interpreted by Harnack, *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben*, 237. Besides, qualifications such as "in mikrokospisch kleiner Schrift" ('in writing which is microscopically small') or "Pergamentbuch kleinsten Formats" ('a miniature book of smallest format') as in NTAp^o, 81, are plain overstatements if other objects of comparison are considered like the famous Mani-Codex.

text is written slowly.¹⁸ Wide (like υ, ω) and narrow letters (ι, ο or occasionally ε) are present and decorative elements (e.g., small hooks) are missing as well as a differentiation between thick and thin strokes. In particular, σ, θ, and quite a number of *epsilons* are oval (on the irregularity of ε see as example verso ll. 4–5 with oval and angular letters, and even written in two looped sequences), ο is round and more slender than the other letters, ι, ρ, υ, φ, (sometimes χ, too) project below the notional lower line, and κ, μ, and ν (often α, too) are formed in three separate movements.

Best of all I compare POxy. V 840 with PSI X 1171 (above all, the oval letter forms; α and ν in three movements; no evident difference between thick and thin strokes; an obvious differentiation between wide and slender letters)¹⁹ and assign the scribe's hand by and large to the upright oval writing type ("la maiuscola ogivale diritta").²⁰ Consequently, the parchment leaf can be dated to the fourth century—as Grenfell/Hunt suggested. This is confirmed by a plausible line of development of the oval writing type, especially observable by means of POxy. XI 1352 (early fourth century), PSI X 1171 (just mentioned above; fourth century), and PFlor. III 389 (fifth century).²¹

The scribe used the usual way of abbreviating end-ν at the end of lines, indicated by a horizontal line above the final letter (verso ll. 6 and 9), conventional short forms for specific theological terms with a supra-linear stroke, better known as *nomina sacra*, such as ὁν(θρῶπ)ων (recto l. 5; verso l. 17), σω(τή)ρι (recto l. 11) or σω(τή)ρ (verso l. 8), and Δ(αυεῖ)δ (verso l. 3), and enlarged dots in the form of an *omicron* together with blank spaces between words (especially broad recto l. 7, but narrower verso ll. 8 and 19).

¹⁸ On the formation of letters see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 1–3. Further, see Kraus, "Slow writers", 86–97.

¹⁹ Cf. Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, no. 12b.

²⁰ For a description see Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, 121–3; Crisci, 'La maiuscola ogivale diritta', 103–45; Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 32 ("upright pointed majuscule"); Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, 100.

²¹ On these three manuscripts see Crisci, 'La maiuscola ogivale diritta', 112–4 (and plate 2 with POxy. XI 1352; plate 3 with PFlor. III 389); Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, no. 12a–c. As possible other manuscripts for a comparison with the hand of POxy. V 840 come to mind PAnt. II 83 (but with α formed in a single sequence) and PSI I 15, both dated to the end of the fourth century, while all in all PFlor. III 389 marks the end of the writing type of the listed manuscripts here and thus has to be dated later than POxy. V 840.

These dots—probably middle stops according to the position of the small filled out stop in verso l. 5, which is also formed in red ink—together with some of the supra-linear strokes above short forms and initial letters of sentences and accents (verso ll. 1 and 14) are striking peculiarities of the leaf, because they are written in red ink in contrast to the rest of the text, which is written in brown ink. Further, a new passage is sometimes stressed by slightly enlarging the initial letter (cf. recto l. 7 with κ after blank space, which is first written in brown ink, then in red, but slightly larger; similar verso l. 8 with ο; l. 19 then ε in the usual ink). The use of another kind of ink caused either an interruption of the process of writing, i.e. putting down and cleaning the writing implement for dunking in the other ink, or more reasonably writing the words and elements in another color later on, so that blank spaces must have been left while writing the text. This is reminiscent of *PVindob.G* 2325 and the emphasis put on the short form πετ for Πέτρος by using red ink (with dots above the first and third letter), which was inserted into the blank space later on,²² and *PVindob.G* 2004 (previously described in *PERF* as no. 218 and then edited as *CPR* I 18, *Stud.Pal.* XX 4, and *Grundz.Mitt.* 84), on which top and finishing colophons, corrections, and paragraphs stand out as they are written in red in contrast to the other text in the usual soot ink.

In the case of *POxy.* V 840 the red ink served the purpose of stressing particular features, which above all suggests itself for the stops and the initial letters (later on painted over in red?).²³ Later additions above the line (recto ll. 14 and 15; verso l. 2), probably in the same hand, verify that the scribe himself proofread the text. The first editors also considered additional places, where the scribe might have omitted text (recto ll. 1 and 3–7; verso l. 18).²⁴

Although the letters and lines are very narrow, there are ample margins the scribe of *POxy.* V 840 allows for his text of ca. 1.4 cm on top,

²² Cf. Kraus, 'PVindob.G 2325', 205–6.

²³ On the use of red ink see Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie* I, 202–7; Thompson, *An Introduction*, 41; Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 31, 141; Trost, *Skriptorium*, 24. The scribe had also to interrupt his writing process, even if he already had the red ink—together with the black/brown—and another κάλαμος as writing implement available on the palette or in the ink well.

²⁴ Cf. Grenfell/Hunt, *POxy.* V 840, on ll. 3–7 (p. 8) and 40 (p. 10). See further the apparatus in Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 167, 169.

1.6 cm at the bottom, 1 cm left, and 0,8 cm right (when looking at the recto). The layout of the page can indicate that there was text in addition to what we have on the preserved leaf, i.e. previous to and following the text we have now, because the scribe did not see any need to add filling elements on the second page (the flesh side) in order to keep up the stichometry or to write the letters in the last line(s) narrower and smaller, as is the case of texts which are regarded as being complete. Moreover, the margins are preserved, the number of lines between 22 and 23, and the general stichometrical arrangement is done in such a way that the hair and the flesh sides are similarly filled; and it appears as if there have been leaves with the same layout.

The content of the text preserved fits well: the episode on the hair side of the fragment is the ending of a warning speech or something similar, whereas σοφίζεται deictically refers back to something mentioned previously (Who is the subject?). The speech that goes down to l. 7 is just as incomplete (new start with a red stop, blank spaces, and enlarged initial letters in brown and red) as the ending of the temple scene on the flesh side. There, by putting ἐγώ (l. 19; red dot and blank space previous to enlarged ε in brown and red ink; analogously arranged the transition to the response of ὁ σωτήρ in l. 8), the behavior of the 'I' is antithetically confronted with that of those belonging to the addressee (l. 10 σύ). The second 'Woe' (οὐαί) is not written anymore and the text ends in the middle of the sentence in such a way that the gap created by damage would not be large enough to complete the text (right on the leaf).

2. Palaeography and the Question about the Use of P.Oxy. V 840

All in all the arrangement of text on the fragment gives a sound impression, as the scribe is familiar with the common writing conventions (line end-v, contracted *nomina sacra*, accents, corrections above the line). He plausibly employs structuring elements (red dots or better circles that look like *omicron* with following blank space, enlarged initial letters) and is in control of a correct orthography. These aspects, taken together with the rather controlled, i.e. not really fast formed, and not particularly regular but at the same time literary writing, certainly distinguish P.Oxy. V 840 from many amulets whose text is written in a coarse and inexperienced hand.

PRyl. I 3 from the fifth/sixth century can serve as an example here to illustrate the aforesaid, which has Septuagint Psalm 90:5–16 in faulty orthography and in a clumsy handwriting, and which has been categorized as an amulet in regard to these features. However, conclusions on the basis of the style of writing can only be drawn very carefully. Although, for instance, *PYale inv.* 989 is written in a remarkable bookhand from the third/fourth century, it is a φυλακτήριον—the invocation of a god for protection against evil—possibly from a magical handbook.²⁵

Perhaps, the case of *PAnt.* II 54 is analogous, a papyrus bifolium from the third century with parts of the Lord's Prayer, 4 × 5.2 cm large, and with six lines on its first two pages, four on its third, and a blank page. In this context it is enough only to refer to the frequent use of the Lord's Prayer for amulets and their descriptions of these, especially *PDuk.inv.* 778, *PIand.* I 6, *POslo.inv.* 1644, and *PSI* VI 719 with parts of the Lord's Prayer and Septuagint Psalm 90, which is even more frequently preserved in exactly this function.²⁶ Just because the text on *PAnt.* II 54 abruptly starts in the middle of a sentence (Matt 6:10) and stops in the middle of a word, the first editors reckon with three preceding pages, i.e. two bifolia, which were bound together, as the slits for the cord in the upper and lower part of the papyrus make believe. The eight leaves of *PRyl.* I 28 enable us to make similar observations, because the cord, with which the bifolia were bound together, is still present. However, it is indistinct, why the text suddenly ends on the last page of *PAnt.* II 54 and why the line and thus the page have not been filled anymore.

The first editors of *PVindob.G* 29831 (= *MPER* N.S. XVII 10)—a parchment bifolium with writing on both sides, 4.2 × 6.5 cm large from the sixth/seventh century, and with holes left from the former (thread) stitching—with an invocation and John 1:5–6 suggested: “Obwohl der Text auf IIv 12 [folio 2, verso l. 12; author's note] mitten im Satz abbricht, folgte vielleicht nicht mehr”²⁷ (‘Although the text on IIv 12 ends in the middle of a sentence, there might not have been any

²⁵ Cf. Proulx/O'Callaghan, ‘Papiro magico cristiano (PYale inv. 989)’, 81–88, and especially the corrections by Daniels, ‘Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ’, 145–9.

²⁶ For the use of the Lord's Prayer together with Septuagint Psalm 90 on amulets see, above all, Amundsen, ‘Christian Papyri’, 141–7; Horsley, ‘The Lord's Prayer in a necropolis’, 103–5; Daniel, ‘A Christian amulet on papyrus’, 400–4.

²⁷ Treu/Diethart, *MPER* N.S. XVII, p. 23.

more there [originally]’). Starting from the question what could have been the purpose of such an incomplete text, G.H.R. Horsley²⁸ infers that—though without any typical content of amulets—the scribe started the small leaf originally as a (miniature) codex, but then he made a mistake and miscalculated the extent of the codex. Thus, he used the already cut pages (Horsley reconstructs the preceding ones) for writing the invocation and John 1:5–6 on it. For Horsley, the holes in the folding of the bifolium are remains of the cord with which the amulet was worn around the neck. If Horsley is right, this would mean a close connection between the laying out of an originally thicker (miniature) codex and its final usage as an amulet.

Horsley’s suggestion, however, remains a hypothetical one, because only this bifolium is preserved, whose features can plausibly lead to the conclusion that *PVindob.G* 29831 was part of a miniature codex, no matter how long it originally might have been. The invocation Ἐπικαλοῦμέ σε ὁ θεός ὁ πατήρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (folio 1, recto ll. 1–5; cf. the slightly larger initial letter ε) denoting the beginning of a new passage or of the text at all, the holes as binding, the beginning in the middle of a sentence and the end in the middle of a word, together with the layout (even the last page is filled properly according to stichometry and analogously to all the other lines preserved, except the final line), and the confident and nice hand of the scribe support this view. Even if originally there were further bifolia belonging to this preserved bibolium, this would not exclude its usage as an amulet carried on one’s person or it may not necessarily be formulated “*either* miniature codex *or* amulet”.²⁹ There are the same or similar reservations about papyri³⁰ that were, according to Horsley, started as codex

²⁸ Cf. Horsley, ‘Reconstructing a biblical codex’, 473–81.

²⁹ See the corresponding short mention of this small parchment on the Internet pages of the exhibition “Ein Buch verändert die Welt. Älteste Zeugnisse der Heiligen Schrift aus der Zeit des frühen Christentums in Ägypten” (‘A book changes the world. Some of the oldest witnesses to the Holy Scriptures from the days of early Christianity in Egypt’) of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna (21/03/2003 to 18/07/2003; <http://www.onb.ac.at/siteseeing/bibel/about.htm>; last access 31/08/2006): “Eine besondere Form dieser Schutzamulette ist der sogenannte Miniaturcodex, ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel dafür ist in der Ausstellung zu sehen: eine Seite misst hier 4,2 × 6,5 cm” (‘A particular form of these amulets of protection is the so-called miniature codex, of which an impressive example can be seen in the exhibition: here one page is 4.2 × 6.5 cm large’).

³⁰ For *POxy*: V 840 being a parchment leaf and its categorization as ‘P’ (= papyrus), see my fundamental remarks in Kraus, “‘Pergament oder Papyrus?’”, 425–32.

and then (re)used as amulets, above all about *PAnt.* II 54. Be that as it may, the co-occurrence of invocation and Gospel text in *PVindob.G* 29831 is nevertheless a remarkable feature.³¹

If at all the way of usage suggested by Horsley rather comes to mind with *PKell.Gr.* 91. This papyrus bifolium consists of three fragments, is 4.2 cm high and 5.7 cm wide, and offers a Manichaic hymn, which can be regarded as a complete text. The four pages are written upon in a proper stichometrical form. It suggests that the use as an amulet is more likely than a miniature codex serving the purpose of private reading. This notion is backed by the excavation of other amulets in the course of the digging campaigns at Kellis (e.g., *PKell.Gr.* 92). The upright, unconnected, irregular, but at the same time confident writing hand would fit the purpose speculated about above. However, the hypothesis that it ‘started as a miniature codex and finished as an amulet’ can neither be verified here nor be it mandatory for explaining the purpose of the papyrus.³²

The parchment bifolium with text from the so-called Apocalypse of Peter, *PVindob.G* 39756, from the fifth century, which is 5.3 cm high and 7.8 cm wide, starts and ends with incomplete sentences. The hand of the scribe seems to resemble that of *Brit.Lib.Cod. Cotton Otho B. VI*, the so-called ‘Cotton Genesis’, and other manuscripts that belong to the Alexandrian type of the upright Biblical majuscule. On a formal basis there are similar and identical features with *POxy.* V 840 and other fragments. But a second fragment of the same codex exists in *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*, which is only one folio of a former bifolium, and the text on this and on the Vienna bifolium do not adjoin, so that the evidence proves without doubt that we have the remains of an originally longer miniature codex, which was not meant to serve as an amulet.³³

Even if any conclusion must be drawn with proper caution, the codex form (assuming that there have been preceding pages), a literary

³¹ At least formal similarities with the so-called ‘Hermeneiai’, which are also called ‘biblical oracles’ and are mainly preserved on manuscripts with passages from the Gospel of John, can be stated here. See, above all, Quecke, ‘Zu den Joh.-Fragmenten’, 407–11; idem, ‘Nachtrag’, 189–81; Metzger, ‘Greek Manuscripts of John’s Gospel’, 162–9; Treu, ‘P. Berol. 21315’, 55–60 (and illustrations 6–7); Porter, ‘The Use of Hermeneia’ (forthcoming).

³² For further information see the edition of Gardner/Worp, *PKell.Lit.* I, 132–6 and plate 21, against Jenkins, ‘A single codex sheet from Kellis’, 217–30.

³³ Cf. Kraus, ‘PVindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]’, 45–61. See further the shorter discussion of both fragments in idem/Nicklas, *Das Petrus-Evangelium und die Petrus-Apokalypse*, 121–30.

handwriting, and additional palaeographical evidence together with the incomplete text on the leaf make it likely that *POxy*. V 840 was meant for another purpose than that of serving as an amulet. Other usages come into view, such as the use as a toy book for children,³⁴ more probably as a miniature notebook,³⁵ or most probably as a privately used miniature codex.³⁶

3. Desiderata and Questions

In principle, the updating of Turner's list of miniature codices, on which I started work some time ago, would be desirable. Nonetheless, a methodological systematization and a pragmatically oriented cataloguing of the entries (at the moment more than sixty items in Greek language) are certainly needed. Additionally, an expansion of the list with Coptic manuscripts that come into question must take place.³⁷ But even previous to the publication of that material a glance at the database leads to the questions: what exactly does Kruger regard as miniature codices? Has the term 'miniature codex' been plainly defined at all?³⁸

Is it really enough simply to stick with the dimension given by Turner (less than 10 cm broad) and is this dimension really able to embrace all the diverse manuscripts to form one single category? Does it consequently make any sense to exclude papyri that are wider, as could be the case with *PRyl*. I 3 being 10 × 10.4 cm large, while many fragmentary papyri have been included in this category on an assumed and therefore hypothetical width? Does not the polarization of miniature codices and amulets recently applied by Kruger imply that the rather formal criterion of describing a manuscript and its specific usage, which

³⁴ Suggested for *PAnt*. II 54 by Barns/Zilliacus, *PAnt*. II, 6–7 (plate IV shows the verso of the papyrus).

³⁵ Cf. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, no. 387.

³⁶ Generally about such a use of miniature codices with references to *PRyl*. I 28 and *POxy*. V 840, Hunt, *PRyl*. I, p. 56; Roberts, *Manuscripts, Society, and Belief*, 10–12; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 235–41, 332–4.

³⁷ Of course, van Haelst and Turner are the starting points of such an enterprise. Nevertheless, they must be supplemented by the entries in papyrological editions (cf. *Checklist*) and the information and discussions gratefully supplied by colleagues. Above all, I am indebted to Willy Clarysse, Leuven, who not only directed me to the fine tool of the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, LDAB (http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be/ldab_text.php; last access 30/08/2006), but even sent me the search history of miniature codices.

³⁸ Kruger mentions "the category of miniature codex" (so *POxy*. V 840, 93) without offering a clear definition of how he understands it.

are two different levels of investigating into a manuscript, are put in opposition to each other?

Yet, even if put into the same category, the individual manuscripts differ from each other so astoundingly, as can be easily illustrated by pointing out a few selected features of papyri to compare with *POxy*. V 840 (fourth [sixth] century; parchment; leaf from a codex; 7.4×8.8 cm; 22 and 23 lines; unknown Gosepl): *PBodl.* I 1 (fourth; parchment; folio of a codex, i.e. leaf;³⁹ 6.5×9 cm; 12 lines; Exod 4:5–6), *POxy*. LXVI 4500 (fourth; parchment; fragment of a leaf from a codex; 4.8×5.9 cm; originally supposed 8×8 cm large and 14 lines; Rev 11:15–16, 17–18), *PAnt.* II 84 (third/fourth; parchment; leaf from a codex; 7.2×7.9 cm; 18 lines; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 95–96), *BKT* V 6.8 (fourth; papyrus; bifolium from a codex, i.e. double leaf; 4.5×6 cm; leaf a with 7, leaf b with 8 lines; end of an acrostic hymn [from T to Ω]), the famous Mani-Codex (fourth/fifth; parchment; bifolia forming a codex; 192 pages; 3.8×4.5 cm; Life of Mani). These few randomly chosen examples (together with *POxy*. V 840) clearly demonstrate that there are striking differences between the manuscripts belonging to the category of miniature codices: (a) different dimensions, (b) rather rectangular and rather square leaves, (c) various numbers of (letters and) lines, (d) papyrus and parchment as writing material, and (e) individual extents of text preserved.

Turner, consulted by Kruger for his study, has already subdivided the list entries he categorized under the heading miniature formats according to material (papyrus and parchment) and lists these two groups in regard to decreasing dimensions, and additionally defines the category as a working hypothesis with the help of one dimension only, i.e. being less than 10 cm wide.⁴⁰ Therefore, the classification ‘miniature codex’, still rather uncritically applied by Kruger, should actually be defined with the help of the palaeographical details of the manuscripts to be considered, in order to avoid that essential details about individual manuscripts will become blurred by a vague collective term.

Besides, fundamental advance clarifications in respect of the term ‘amulet’ are required, so that the kind of usage of a manuscript denoted as an amulet really becomes evident. On the one hand a basic orientation

³⁹ Here the term ‘leaf’ denotes that writing is on both sides (recto/verso or flesh/hair side) and that it belongs to the same text, and does not imply any determination of a certain purpose.

⁴⁰ Cf. Turner, *The Typology*, 22 (papyrus), 31–2 (parchment).

about the nature and the socio-cultural as well as religious background of amulets is certainly needed,⁴¹ on the other an additional critical inclusion of historical sources, in regard of Christian amulets especially the early Christian writers of late antiquity, is indispensable.

Apart from the lack of an exact definition of the category 'miniature codex', Kruger's polarity between 'miniature codex and (or better *versus*) amulet' appears to be questionable. The original purpose of a fragment cannot always be determined, particularly as primarily a formal feature is set in opposition to a purpose, for the formal classification of a manuscript as miniature codex—and with respect to Turner's categorization delineated above—serves the goal of a formal description, on the basis of which and by the use of a synopsis of all available details about most of the papyri of this group conclusions on the purpose and the like will be possible. Moreover, a papyrus or parchment leaf written on for a specific purpose or occasion might have been used in a different way from what was originally intended. Thus, one comes up against limiting factors with the material collected by Kruger, which was sufficient for the conclusions he drew, and these can only be overcome by means of additional palaeographical details (see above).

In principle, the often present polarity between amulets and miniature codices leads to another often put up opposition between magic and religion, or in other words 'magic *versus* religion', an opposition, however, that did not exist for the people of (late) antiquity.⁴² This view is clarified by the free use of biblical texts for apotropaic or other magical purposes, which is illustrated, for example, by the manifold use of the Lord's Prayer or of Septuagint Psalm 90. If at all, the polarity must be formulated as 'magic *versus* normative religious practice', something that found expression in the utterances of late antique Christian writers⁴³ and explicitly in *Canon* 36 of the Synod of Laodicea, with which the uncontrolled spread of amulets should be limited.⁴⁴ Following the way Jan N. Bremmer elucidates in a fundamental study, the opposition 'magic *versus* religion' must not play any role in the treatment of magic in (late)

⁴¹ For a first orientation see Leclercq, 'Art. Amulettes', 1784–860; Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstition*; Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*; Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets* I.

⁴² Fundamental in this respect Bremmer, 'The Birth of the Term "Magic"', 9–12 [1999].

⁴³ Cf. Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 237–9, 332–3; Metzger, 'A Magical Amulet', 89–94; Kurger, 'P.Oxy. 840', 83–5.

⁴⁴ It is difficult to date the synod (probably somewhere between 341 and 381). Cf. von Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles* I.2, 989–90.

antiquity, because such an opposition embodies the way of thinking of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴⁵ Any proposed polarity between ‘amulet and (or better *versus*) miniature codices’ must consequently be looked at suspiciously and in an extremely discriminative way.

After all, it remains to be hoped that studies like Kruger’s will make interpreters and commentators increasingly conscious of the factual realities, regarding papyri and parchments, but also ostraca and (wood) tablets, so that they accept them as genuine archaeological witnesses to (early) Christianity, as Kruger does in regard of the miniature codices;⁴⁶ or in other words, these artifacts should be valued “als zumeist älteste erreichbare Quellen, dazu noch aus erste Hand, als Fingerabdrücke einer vergangenen Zeit, die sich im jeweiligen Material, in der spezifischen Schrift bzw. Beschriftung und der Rechtschreibung eines Manuscripts verfestigt haben” (‘as the oldest accessible and above all first-hand sources, as fingerprints of a bygone time that had become fixed in individual material, in a specific layout of the page and performance of the writing, and in the orthography of a manuscript’).⁴⁷

Addenda

Apart from some notorious errors in spelling and syntax, the following are remarkable addenda:

- Hans-Josef Klauck’s comprehensive introduction to the apocryphal Gospels is now available in English, too.⁴⁸
- I referred to my work on archaeological artifacts with portions of Septuagint Psalm 90. In the meantime I have treated this topic in various ways, but still see a lot of preliminary work to be done, before finally accomplishing a critical edition of the relevant artifacts.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ According to Bremmer, ‘The Birth of the Term “Magic”’, 11–12 [1999]. Further in regard to the relationship between magic and Christianity, see Crasta, ‘Graeco-Christian Magical Papyri’, 31–40; Aune, ‘Magic in Early Christianity’, 1507–57.

⁴⁶ Cf. Kruger, ‘P.Oxy. 840’, 93: “It [The miniature codex; author’s note] represents a vital stage in the development of the Christian book...” For 4 Ezra and Jubilees, see, for example, Kraus, ‘Bücherleihe im vierten Jahrhundert’, 285–96.

⁴⁷ Kraus, ‘*Ad fontes*’, 1.

⁴⁸ Klauck, *The Apocryphal Gospels* (available in hardcover and paperback). See above n. 3.

⁴⁹ Kraus, ‘Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Funktion’; idem, ‘Septuaginta-Psalm 90’, 39–72; idem, ‘Ein byzantinisches Amulett-Armband im *British Museum* (London)’. See above n. 8.

- Above I briefly discussed *PAnt.* II 54 with parts of the Lord's Prayer as one example with the help of which *POxy.* V 840 can be characterized in more detail. Meanwhile, I presented a paper at the annual meeting of the *Society of Biblical Literature (SBL)* in Philadelphia in 2005 on this papyrus and other manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer, which is a short version of a more comprehensive study published in 2006.⁵⁰ There I describe *PAnt.* II 54 and argue that this oldest witness to the Lord's Prayer may be a miniature notebook rather than anything else due to its palaeography,⁵¹ following Raffaella Cribiore's view.⁵²
- In the same study from 2006 *PDuk.inv.* 778 (formerly *PRob.inv.* 41), which was also addressed above, is described as well.⁵³ This papyrus amulet with Septuagint Psalm 90, the heading of Psalm 91, and Matt 6:9–13 followed by a doxology was published by Csaba A. La'da and Amphilochios Papatthomas in 2004.⁵⁴
- Jan N. Bremmer's fundamental and programmatic study 'The Birth of the term "Magic"' from 1999 was republished in 2002 in a corrected and updated version.⁵⁵

At the time of writing this essay I was aware of Jack Finegan's remarkable collection of *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus* from 1969 but did not mention it. Finegan deals with many interesting textual sources, among which Greek and Coptic manuscripts (papyri and parchments) with apocryphal texts play a significant role.⁵⁶ *POxy.* V 840 is shortly described, transcribed (without a distinction between certain and uncertain letters), translated into English, and briefly commented upon.⁵⁷ In addition, J.K. Elliott's collection of apocryphal texts (in English translation) has a section on *POxy.* V 840 with a reference to the studies by Bovon and Kruger⁵⁸ in the bibliography section of its paperback edition from 2005. Elliott provides a short introduction, the fundamental literature, and an English translation (of the Greek text printed by de

⁵⁰ Kraus, 'Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*', 227–66.

⁵¹ Cf. Kraus, 'Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*', 234–5, 253 and figs. 1 and 2 (p. 233).

⁵² Cf. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, no. 387.

⁵³ Cf. Kraus, 'Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*', 243–5.

⁵⁴ La'da/Papatthomas, 'A Greek Papyrus Amulet', 93–113.

⁵⁵ Bremmer, 'The Birth of the Term "Magic"', 1–11, 267–71 [2002].

⁵⁶ Finegan, *Hidden Records*, 176–305.

⁵⁷ Finegan, *Hidden Records*, 226–30.

⁵⁸ Cf. Bovon, 'Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840', 705–28; Kruger, 'P. Oxy. 840', 81–94.

Santos Otero).⁵⁹ What struck me most was that I did not reckon to check Karl Preisendanz's *Papyri Graecae Magicae* for a mention of *P.Oxy. V 840*, which volume II actually has. There, Preisendanz justifies his decision not to include the parchment leaf, because "sie als Magica doch nicht erwiesen schienen" ("they were not proved to be *magica*").⁶⁰ Recently, Andrew Bernhard has published a collection of potentially apocryphal Gospel fragments, in which he presents a transcription accompanied by an English translation⁶¹ and denominates *P.Oxy. V 840* and other manuscripts as "small fragments of various unidentified gospels".⁶² Unfortunately, Bernhard did and could not incorporate the results from Kruger's exhaustive work on this parchment leaf, wherein my own palaeographical study (see above) has been integrated.

The present study was motivated by Michael J. Kruger's work on *P.Oxy. V 840* published in 2002. When I heard of his dissertation project I sent him a typescript of this article and a copy of another one supporting his argumentation.⁶³ See above the *Addenda* section to "2. 'Parchment or Papyrus?: Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts'". Of major interest here is the first chapter of Kruger's slightly revised dissertation published in 2005. All in all, his palaeographical treatment of *P.Oxy. V 840* is sound and comprehensive, as he discusses the physical features of the parchment leaf, the hand of the scribe, diacritical signs, and previous work on the fragment in every detail.⁶⁴ His and my work fundamentally interact and agree with each other.⁶⁵ Now and then Kruger is, of course, more detailed and

⁵⁹ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 31–4. Elliott's translation is based on the Greek text printed by de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apocrifos*, 74–8 (Greek text with Spanish translation and short introductory commentary).

⁶⁰ Karl Preisendanz, *Pap. Graec. Mag.* II PLX, p. 188 n. 1.

⁶¹ Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 120–5 (plate 27 with back of *P.Oxy. V 840*). According to the publishers and Bernhard himself, the collection primarily aims at students, so that critical apparatuses for the Greek text are restricted to a minimum of details (basically alternative readings).

⁶² Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 4.

⁶³ See Kraus, 'P.Oxy. V 840—Amulet oder Miniaturkodex?', 485–497, which was accepted for publication in autumn 2003 but appeared in 2005. Further, see Kraus, "Pergament oder Papyrus?", 425–32.

⁶⁴ Cf. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 17–62.

⁶⁵ Cf. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 17 n. 1. About his and my own work on *P.Oxy. V 840* he states that "they reach strikingly similar conclusions" and that he "will interact with Kraus' article throughout this chapter as appropriate". See my review of Kruger's volume in *FilNeot* 18 (2005; forthcoming).

occasionally more precise in his terminology, for instance, when he denotes the text as being “roughly bilinear” (see my comments above on letters below the notional lower line), points out a διπλῆ (‘>’) filling l. 9 of the recto, indicates the six occurrences of a *dieresis* (or *trema*), and correctly attributes the holes to the metallic-based ink that has eaten through the parchment here and there. However, Kruger’s argument in favor of a date in the first half of the fourth century (300–350 CE) may be questioned.⁶⁶ Grenfell and Hunt suggested the fourth century as likely period of writing (rather than the fifth), and I compared the hand of *POxy*. V 840 with *PSI* X 1171 and other manuscripts of the ‘upright pointed style’ (‘la maiuscola ogiviale diritta’), reaching the conclusion that *POxy*. V 840 should be dated earlier than *PFlor*. III 389 (5th century) and later than *POxy*. XI 1352 (early fourth century), as it resembles best *PSI* X 1171, and thus might have been written in the middle of the fourth century.⁶⁷ That is why I am reluctant to accept Kruger’s reasoning for dating *POxy*. V 840 to the early fourth century,⁶⁸ although I do not consider it as being impossible at all as “[w]e do not have manuscripts written in ‘upright pointed majuscule’ . . . that are dated or datable within reasonable limits; we therefore have to rely solely on the palaeographical analysis to establish their chronological range and order.”⁶⁹ Be that as it may and apart from other minor matters of discussion, the first chapter⁷⁰ of Kruger’s monographic treatment of *POxy*. V 840 provides an exact description of this often discussed parchment leaf and thus indispensable details for every investigation that will be done on this or other apocryphal fragments, and on the relationship between miniature codices and amulets.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Cf. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 40–5.

⁶⁷ See above and notes 19, 20, and 21.

⁶⁸ The discussion of the date is summarized in Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 62. What Kruger mentions there (writing style, color, punctuation, just a few *nomina sacra*) can also be taken as clues for a date near the end of the fourth century, because examples from that and even a later period of time prove that all of that was employed then as well.

⁶⁹ Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 32.

⁷⁰ For comments on the other chapters of Kruger’s book, see Verheyden, ‘Review of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*’; Nicklas, ‘Review of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*’; Kraus, ‘Review of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*’.

⁷¹ In a forthcoming volume with apocryphal *Gospel Fragments* (provisional title) in the series *Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts* (OECGT; Oxford University Press) Kruger will present a shorter treatment of *POxy*. V 840.

In the section ‘4. Desiderata and questions’ I put forward the demand for an updated and modified list of miniature codices that at the same time must include preliminary methodological reflections. This year I accepted an invitation to read a paper in the seminar on textual criticism at the meeting of the 61st general meeting of the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (SNTS) at King’s College, Aberdeen (July 25 to 29, 2006), about miniature books.⁷² At the annual meeting of the *Society of Biblical Literature* (SBL) in Washington D.C. (November 18 to 21, 2006) I specified the massive number of entries in my list—recently Willy Clarysse, Leuven, sent me information of some 50 new miniature books in Coptic, which have not been catalogued so far for the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB), but will hopefully be soon available on the Internet together with all the other entries of LDAB—for application to biblical studies, above all the textual criticism of the New Testament.⁷³ I hope to publish a first essay on methodology, preliminary reflections on the scope of research, and the problems and questions that arise in the course of work in the near future,⁷⁴ and—probably together with other studies being published—will end up with a monograph on these fascinating artifacts of (late) antiquity.

Bibliography

- Amundsen, L., ‘Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection: II. Christian Amulet’, *SO* 24 (1945) 141–7.
 Aune, D.E., ‘Magic in Early Christianity’, ANRW 2.23.2 (1980) 1507–57.
 Bernhard, A., *Other Early Christian Gospels: A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts* (London-New York: T&T Clark, 2006).
 Blau, L., ‘Das neue Fragment von Oxyrhynchos buch- und zaubergeschichtlich betrachtet nebst sonstigen Bemerkungen’, *ZNW* 9 (1908) 204–15.
 Bonner, C., *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor/Michigan-London: University of Michigan Press, 1950).

⁷² The title was ‘Miniature Books in (late) Antiquity—Categories, Contexts, and Conclusions’ and focused on defining the terms ‘miniature’, ‘book’, and ‘miniature books’, and a first systematization of the data material recorded so far (mainly Greek, some bilingual Greek-Coptic, and some Latin manuscripts), and a discussion of the main problems that will have to be faced when working on such a project.

⁷³ The title of the paper is similar to that read at SNTS: ‘Miniature Books, Codices, or Formats? Categories, Contexts, and Conclusions’. Nevertheless, the paper is more specially focusing on the terms used in the title and pointing out what the implications of work on miniature books are for scholars of textual criticism and in Biblical studies

⁷⁴ The essay will certainly have the same title as the paper read at SNTS.

- Bovon, F., 'Fragment *Oxyrhynchus* 840, fragment of a lost gospel, witness of an early Christian controversy over purity', *JBL* 119 (2000) 705–728.
- Bremmer, J.N., 'The Birth of the Term "Magic"', *ζPE* 126 (1999) 1–12 [1999].
- , 'The Birth of the Term "Magic"', in: idem/J.R. Veenstra (eds.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 1; Leuven-Paris-Dudley: Peeters, 2002) 1–11, 267–71 [2002].
- Budge, E.A. Wallis, *Amulets and Superstition* (London: Dover Publ., 1930).
- Cavallo, G., *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Studi e testi di papirologia 2; Firenze: Le Monnier, 1967).
- /Maehler, H., *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800* (BICS.S 47; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987).
- Crasta, P., 'Graeco-Christian Magical Papyri', *StudPap* 18 (1979) 31–40.
- Cribiore, R., *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (ASP 36; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).
- Crisci, E., 'La maiuscola ogivale diritta. Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni', *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985) 103–45.
- Daniel, R.W., 'A Christian amulet on papyrus', *VigChr* 37 (1983) 400–4.
- , 'Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ', *ζPE* 25 (1977) 145–9.
- de Santos Otero, A., *Los Evangelios Apócrifos* (BAC 148; Madrid: BAC, ¹⁰1999).
- Elliott, J.K., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993 [Paperback ed. 2005]).
- Gamble, H.Y., *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- Gardthausen, V., *Griechische Palaeographie. Erster Band: Das Buchwesen im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Teubner, ²1911).
- Harnack, A., *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben. Band 2* (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1911).
- Horsley, G.H.R., 'Reconstructing a biblical codex: the prehistory of M^{PER} n.s. XVII. 10 (P^{Vindob.} G 29 831)', *PapCongr.* XXI, 473–81.
- , 'The Lord's Prayer in a necropolis', *NDIEC* 3 (1978) 103–5.
- Hunger, H., *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek; Munich: Beck, 1989).
- Jenkins, G., 'A single codex sheet from Kellis. A Manichaean miniature Greek codex (papyrus 2)', in: J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of John* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995) 217–30.
- Klauck, H.-J., *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (Transl. by B. McNeil; London-New York: T&T Clark, 2003).
- , *Apokryphe Evangelien. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, ²2005).
- Koenen, L., 'Ein Mönch als Berufsschreiber zur Buchproduktion im 5./6. Jahrhundert', in: *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung 8; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974) 347–54.
- Kotansky, R., *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance* (Pap.Col. XXII.1; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994).
- Kraus, T.J., 'Ad fontes: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von P^{Vindob.} G 31974', *Bib.* 82 (2001) 1–16.
- , 'Bücherleihe im 4. Jh. n. Chr.—P^{Oxy.} LXIII 4365', *Biblos* 50 (2001) 285–96.
- , 'Ein byzantinisches Amulett-Armband im *British Museum* (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalms 90 und der Huldigung der Magier', *JbAC* 48 (2005; forthcoming in 2007).
- , 'Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*—they are more than simply Witnesses to that Text itself', in: idem/T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (TENT 2; Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006) 227–66.

- , “‘Pergament oder Papyrus?’: Anmerkungen zur Signifikanz des Beschreibstoffes bei der Behandlung von Manuskripten”, *NTS* 49 (2003) 425–32.
- , ‘Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Funktion’, *Pap.Congr.* XXIV (forthcoming).
- , ‘P.Vindob.G 2325: Das sogenannte Fayûm-Evangelium—Neuedition und kritische Rückschlüsse’, *ŽAC/JAC* 5 (2001) 197–212.
- , ‘P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]: Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse’, *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61.
- , ‘Review of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*’, *FilNeot* (forthcoming).
- , ‘Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial’, *BN* 125 (2005) 39–72.
- , “‘Slow writers’”—βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?’, *Er* 97 (1999) 86–97.
- /Nicklas, T., *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (GCS.NF 11 and Neutestamentliche Apokryphen 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).
- Kruger, M.J., ‘P. Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex’, *JThS* 53 (2002) 81–94.
- , *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (TENT 1; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005).
- Leclercq, H., ‘Art. Amulettes’, *DACL* 1.2 (1924) 1784–1860.
- Lührmann, D., *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (In cooperation with E. Schlarb; MThSt 59, Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 2000).
- Metzger, B.M., ‘A Magical Amulet for Curing Fevers’, in: Daniels, B.L./Suggs, M.J. (eds.), *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament. In Honor of K.W. Clark* (StD 29; Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1967) 89–94.
- , ‘Greek Manuscripts of John’s Gospel with “Hermeneiai”’. in: T. Baarda et al. (eds.), *Text and Testimony. Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1988) 162–9.
- Nicklas, T., ‘Review of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*’, *Apocrypha* 17 (2006; forthcoming).
- Porter, S.E., ‘The Greek Apocryphal Gospels Papyri: The Need for a Critical Edition’, *PapCongr.* XXI, 795–803.
- , ‘The Use of Hermeneia and Johannine Papyrus Manuscripts’, *PapCongr.* XXIII (forthcoming).
- Preuschen, E., ‘Das neue Evangelienfragment von Oxyrhynchos’, *ŽNW* 9 (1908) 1–11.
- Proulx, P./O’Callaghan, J., ‘Papiri mágico cristiano (PYale inv. 989)’, *StudPap* 13 (1974) 81–8.
- Quecke, H., ‘Nachtrag zu den Joh.-Fragmenten mit “Hermeneiai”’, *OrChrP* 43 (1977) 179–81.
- , ‘Zu den Joh.-Fragmenten mit “Hermeneiai”’, *OrChrP* 40 (1974) 407–11.
- Roberts, C.H., *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).
- , *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1977; London: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Rupprecht, H.-A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Schubart, W., *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Handbuch der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin; Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, ²1921).
- , *Griechische Palaeographie* (HAW 1.4.1; Munich: Beck, 1925 [repr. 1966]).
- Seider, R., *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri II* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1970).
- Thompson, E.M., *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912).
- Treu, K., ‘P. Berol. 21315: Bibelorakel mit griechischer und koptischer Hermeneia’, *APF* 37 (1991) 55–60.

- Trost, V., *Skriptorium. Die Buchherstellung im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Belser Verlag, 1991).
- Turner, E.G., *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Ed by P.J. Parsons; BICS.S 46; London: Institute of Classical Studies, ²1987).
- , *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 1977).
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).
- Verheyden, J., 'Review of Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior*', *RBL* 37 (2006; <http://www.bookreviews.org>; last access 01/09/2006).
- von Hefele, K.J., *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, vols. I.2 (Ed. H. Leclercq; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907).

CHAPTER FIVE

PVindob.G 2325: THE SO-CALLED FAYÛM-GOSPEL—RE-EDITION AND SOME CRITICAL CONCLUSIONS*

In the course of the 21st International Congress of Papyrology in Berlin in 1985 Stanley E. Porter found fault with the lack of a critical edition of the Greek papyri with apocryphal Gospel texts on the one hand, and, at the same time, criticized the treatment of the once edited papyri on the other, which are rarely appropriately considered on their own or which are not adequately republished even if it might be necessary.¹ His estimation can be complemented by the observation that the discovery of fragments of apocryphal Gospels causes a temporary stir,² but as soon as it becomes obvious that they won't offer any insights about the canonical Gospels, their history of origins, or the relationship between each other, the interest in these new discoveries dies at once, as was the case with *PVindob.G* 2325.³ An evaluation of papyri with apocryphal texts

* Originally published as 'P.Vindob.G 2325: Das sogenannte Fayûm-Evangelium—Neuedition und kritische Rückschlüsse', *ZAC/JAC* 5 (2001) 197–212. Used with kind permission. For making possible my work on the original and for providing an image of the papyrus I am very much indebted to Hermann Harrauer of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. For all the shortcomings, however, I, the author of this study, am to be blamed.

¹ Cf. Porter, 'The Greek Apocryphal Gospels Papyri', 795–803, here 795. Porter's claims (803) refer to the following manuscripts (795): *POxy* I 1; IV 654; 655; XLI 2949; XL 4009; *PEgerton* 2 in connection with *PKöln* VI 255; *PCair.* 10735; *PVindob.G* 2325; *PBerol.* 11710; *PMert.* II 51.

² In this respect, the recent retrieval of a newly discovered papyrus fragment of the Letter to the Hebrews in the Papyrus Collection in Vienna comes to mind. In many newspaper reports the fragment was misjudged as the oldest witness to the Letter to the Hebrews, so that the editor of the *PVindob.G* 42417, Amphilochios Papatthomas, felt obliged to publish some clarifications even before the papyrus had officially been published (cf. his email to the PAPY-forum [papy@igl.ku.dk] of 07/01/2000 and his statements on the homepage of the Papyrus Collection in Vienna [http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/papyrus/aktuell/news1.htm]). The edition of the papyrus from the sixth or seventh century is Papatthomas, 'A New Testimony' (2000), 18–24.

³ The initial sensation about the fragment, which was regarded as a pre-stage of the synoptic Gospels, above all of Matt and Mark (Bickell, 'Ein Papyrusfragment', 498–504; PERF no. 541: "...wohl Übersetzung des aramäischen Urevangeliums...") or as a potential parallel text to the Synoptics and, thus, called in to understand them better (see the title of Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien* II, 28–34),

and a critical treatment in their own right only rarely occur. It is self-evident that this is unacceptable because every direct primary witness to a bygone time is unique. Furthermore, these fingerprints of early Christianity—as is the case with the papyrus dealt with in the present essay—are then not properly accepted on the basis of their invaluable significance for recovering the past, and, by doing so, valuable pieces of information and inferences about the variety and complexity of previous text transmission are at risk of getting lost.⁴

Therefore, it is the goal of this essay, by means of a new analysis of *P.Vindob.G* 2325—the fragment of the so-called Fayûm-Gospel of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna—to point out that essential conclusions can be drawn from a detailed investigation into the papyrus itself and that they can be made utilizable for further discussions of diverse problems even in related academic disciplines. After a description of the fragment, a survey of the history of research (a *Forschungsbericht*), a diplomatic transcription of the fragment with annotations and comments, and a reconstruction (that, of course, will remain hypothetical), the focus is put on the assessment of the papyrus and its text.

1. *P.Vindob.G* 2325—*Description and History of Research*

The papyrus fragment is at most 3.5 cm high and 4.3 cm wide, and has seven lines of writing on one side only parallel to the horizontal papyrus fibers (recto).⁵ The last line is partly lost. The reverse side with vertical fibers (verso) is blank. If the Christian preference of the codex is taken into account⁶ or if the codex is even accepted as the original

died quite soon, after there were no further conclusions gained from *P.Vindob.G* 2325 for these issues.

⁴ About the relevance of all pieces of papyrus evidence, see (among others) Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 18–21; idem, ‘Papyruskunde’, 9.32–43; Hagedorn, ‘Papyrologie’, 62–70. Further, see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 1–23; idem, *Greek Papyri*, 88–96; Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, 1–3; Ehrman, ‘The Text as Window’, 361–79; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 43 (and several other pages); Kraus, ‘*Ad fontes*’, 1–3.

⁵ The terms ‘recto’ and ‘verso’ are deliberately used in this context, because *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is seen as a fragment from a roll here. On ‘recto’ and ‘verso’ see Turner, ‘Recto and Verso’, 102–6; idem, ‘The Terms Recto and Verso’; Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung*, 19–21 (with literature).

⁶ Cf. Pöhlmann, *Einführung in die Überlieferungsgeschichte* 1, 79–86; Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung*, 19–21, 192–3; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 49–66, 267–74.

Christian form from the very beginning of the production of texts by Christians,⁷ the characteristic of having writing on one side only (on the inner side of a roll) has to be pointed out as a striking feature.⁸ There are slight discolorations in the upper left and lower right area of the papyrus. Additionally, the first two lines—the third only slightly—are worn, what causes the loss of letters from the middle of the first line. The ink is still strongly black with the exception of $\pi\epsilon\tau$ in line 5, which is written in red ink (with π slightly blackish).

Assumptions about the reconstructed numbers of letters per line must remain hypothetical, because no margin of the fragment is preserved. The completion of words and phrases to form a meaningful context seems to suggest lines with up to thirty-one letters as realistic (see below the reconstruction and stichometry in the third section of this study). Nonetheless, these suggestions never get beyond their tentative and hypothetical nature.⁹

The capital letters in *scriptio continua*, written with the usual departures from the norm but nevertheless in a regular way, are sloping to the right and take roughly equal space for each. Exceptions to this are: above all ϕ (l. 3), which projects above the notional upper and lower line, and appears wider than average; ω , which is wider than the other letters (ll. 1, 3, and 6), but is just above the notional lower line and hangs down from the upper; ρ , which projects below the line with its vertical stroke (ll. 3–4, and 6); o , which is smaller than the other letters, and which

⁷ See Aland/Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 85–6, 111; Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 6–7, 247. Finally Enste, *Kein Markustext in Qumran*, 84–94.

⁸ This is emphasized for P^Vindob.G 2325 by Enste, *Kein Markustext in Qumran*, 86 n. 439. Further, it must be stressed that P^Vindob.G 2325 does not have any other writing on its reverse side, which is often called an *opistograph* (Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung*, 20, does not count documents whose reverse sides “unabhängig von diesem Geschäftsvorgang mit einem anderen Text beschriftet wurde[n]” [‘were written upon with another text which had no connection with this business affair’] among these), or that P^Vindob.G 2325 is not a secondary copy like P^{Oxy}. VIII 1079 \mathfrak{P}^{18} : the verso of the papyrus has Rev 1:4–7 in one column, but the recto parts from Exod. The reverse side of the roll was later used to write a text from the New Testament on it (palaeographically clumsy and untrained). Cf. the *editio princeps*; Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament*, 182–5; Aland, *Repertorium* I, AT 21 and NT 18 (with additional literature); van Haelst no. 559. For more relevant examples in this respect see Enste, *Kein Markustext in Qumran*, 84–6 n. 433. Further, see Aland/Aland, *Der Text*, 111; van Haelst ‘Concordances’ 377–407.

⁹ In this respect Wessely, ‘Ueber das Zeitalter’, 508. Further see Lührmann, ‘POx 4009’, 406, and idem, *Fragmente*, 81; Pöhlmann, *Einführung in die Überlieferungsgeschichte*, 87. Aland, *Repertorium*, AT 13, notes: “rekonstruierte Buchstabenanzahl: ca. 29” (‘reconstructed number of letters: 29’).

hangs down from the upper notional line (ll. 4–6). Occasionally, the point of α projects above the upper line (above all, ll. 1–4). The form of ϵ with its long horizontal line projecting from the body of the letter seems to be characteristic (ll. 1, 3, and 5). The space saved by narrow ι is rarely used (but see the first ι in l. 4, and partly l. 6 in contrast to ll. 1–2, and 4, and the second ι in l. 5. The individual letters of *P.Vindob. G* 2325 are not strictly separated from each other, but touch each other occasionally, which is obvious in ll. 2 and 3. Definite ligatures and juxtapositions, however, cannot be determined. The writing itself was performed at a certain speed,¹⁰ albeit that is consistent here with the confident and fluent hand of the scribe. Calligraphic peculiarities cannot be found, and diacritical signs are missing (e.g., punctuation and diaeresis). The two dots above $\pi\epsilon\tau$ in l. 5 ($\pi\epsilon\tau$), however, serve a different function and deserve particular attention, which is given to them later on.

The “Art der Auffindung, das Format, die Schrift und die paläographischen Eigentümlichkeiten”¹¹ (‘way of discovery, the format, the writing, and the palaeographical peculiarities’) point to the third century,¹² maybe even to its beginning.¹³ The discovery of the piece in the middle of a layer of papyri from the time of the Roman emperors, all papyri earlier than the reign of Diocletian, confirms the palaeographical observations.¹⁴ The papyri of the layer suggest the district of Ἡρακλεοπολίτης in Middle Egypt as the provenance of *P.Vindob. G* 2325, all in all Heracleopolis (Magna) at the southeastern exit of the Fayûm. Nevertheless, alternative suggestions cannot be ruled out altogether.¹⁵

¹⁰ Above all, see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2; Youtie, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 239–61; Kraus, ‘Slow writers’, 86–97; idem, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 322–41.

¹¹ Wessely, ‘Üeber das Zeitalter’, 507.

¹² The decisive observations are presented by Wessely, ‘Üeber das Zeitalter’, 507–11. See further van Haelst no. 589. The presumed date of composition of the Gospel fragment between 60 and 65 C.E. by Berger/Nord, *Das Neue Testament*, 312, is presented without any reasons and thus is pure speculation.

¹³ The details given by Wessely, ‘Üeber das Zeitalter’, 509–10, 513, motivate Bickell, ‘Bemerkungen’, 516, to become more precise about the date of *P.Vindob. G* 2325 (“noch bestimmter dem Anfange des Jahrhunderts zuzuweisen”—‘to assign [the papyrus] more confidently to the beginning of the century’).

¹⁴ Wessely, ‘Üeber das Zeitalter’, 508, particularly refers to a lease from 225 C.E., which is from the period of Severus Alexander. Edited, translated, and commented on as *CPR* I 36.

¹⁵ Cf. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments* I, 173: ‘J’ai trouvé ce fragment dans un dossier provenant du district d’Héracléopolis, les papyrus s’étant collés l’un à l’autre depuis longtemps...’ (‘I have found this fragment in a layer [of papyrus material]

Gustav Bickell already published the first edition of the fragment in 1885.¹⁶ Soon hereafter he revised above all the reading of the first line in a swift sequence of publications. He started with $\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\epsilon\zeta\eta\gamma\omicron\nu\pi\alpha$ [, then read $\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\pi\alpha$ [,¹⁷ and finally decided in favor of $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\pi\alpha$].¹⁸ However, he did not distinguish between letters he regarded as uncertain and certain.¹⁹ In 1906 Karl Wessely corrected the first line because of various palaeographical considerations to $\] \xi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\epsilon\ldots\omicron\tau\iota\alpha$ and thoroughly justified his decision.²⁰ Nonetheless, Bickell's readings dare repeated not only in the relevant literature²¹ from early on but also nowadays.²² Moreover, they are still predominant when *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is dealt with. Consequently, the translations that have a formative influence on the discussion of the apocryphal Gospels are based on Bickell's revised reading of the first line from 1887, i.e. $\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omega\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\pi\alpha$].²³

from the district of Heracleopolis; the papyri have stuck together one to the other for a long time...'). Similarly Bickell, 'Ein Papyrusfragment', 498; Savi, 'Le fragment évangélique', 322–23. Consequently then in van Haelst no. 589.

¹⁶ Bickell, 'Ein Papyrusfragment', 498–504. Further, idem, 'Das nichtkanonische Evangelienfragment', 53–61.

¹⁷ Bickell, 'Zum Evangelienfragment Raineri', 41: "Zu meinem Artikel über das vielbesprochene Evangelienfragment im vorigen Bande dieser Zeitschrift habe ich jetzt den wichtigen Nachtrag hinzuzufügen, daß in der ersten Zeile statt $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\gamma\omicron\nu$ vielmehr $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\zeta\ \epsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ zu lesen [ist]."—"In addition to the much discussed Gospel fragment in the previous volume of this journal I have now to make an important postscript that one has to read $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\zeta\ \epsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ instead of $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\gamma\omicron\nu$ in the first line.' At the same time and only in slightly different phrasing idem, 'Bemerkungen', 516. This was followed by Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* 2, 780–90 (but with ϕ and $\epsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ marked as uncertain) and Harnack, 'Das Evangelienfragment', 481–97.

¹⁸ Bickell, 'Ein letztes Wort über das Papyrus-Evangelium', 79: "Der Anfang unseres Fragments lautete also sicher $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\ \omega\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$."—"The beginning of our fragment was definitely $\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\ \omega\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$."

¹⁹ See also Porter, 'Greek Apocryphal Gospels Papyri', 796.

²⁰ Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments* I, 174.

²¹ For the relevant literature see de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, 85. Further see Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments* I, 173; Porter, 'Greek Apocryphal Gospels Papyri', 796–7.

²² Cf. especially de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, 85, who simply reprints the readings of Harnack, 'Das Evangelienfragment', 481–97. But Harnack himself had already adopted Bickell's reading (cf. the first line with $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\zeta\ \epsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma$). Further see Bonaccorsi, *Vangeli Apócrifi*, 31–2. Also see Lührmann, 'POx 4009', 407. Last, but without any distinction between really present and reconstructed text, Berger/Nord, *Das Neue Testament*, 312.

²³ Among others, in this regard Schneemelcher, 'Das sogenannte Fajjūmfragment', 87: "Nach >Essen gemäß der Sitte (?)" ; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 44: "[After supper as was the custom, he said,]" (following the Greek text in de Santos Otero, who follows Harnack).

2. *Transcription and Discussion of the Fragment*

This situation might not necessarily have turned out this way.²⁴ A minute inspection of the original itself would have prompted an early revision of Bickell's readings and confirmed Wessely's to a large degree, especially as far as the transcription of the first line is concerned. Accordingly, a diplomatic transcription of *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is provided here first, done from the original at the Papyrus Collection in Vienna. Further, this transcription can be assessed for the first time directly by means of a quality photograph, because up to now an acceptable picture of the fragment was not available, only Bickell's facsimile from 1887 that is dyed auburn.

- 1]ξαγεινωc ±6 τι.[
]τηνυκτικανδαλιc[
]τογραφενπαταξωτον[
]προβαταδιασκορπισθηc[
 5]υπετκαιειπαντεco[
]οαλεκτρωνδικοκ[
]πα . υ[

1. 1: Bickell suggested φ and λ for the remains of the first letter, but both differ from other letters preserved on the papyrus, i.e. φ in l. 3 and λ in ll. 2 and 6. Moreover, the remains are not compatible with the rest of the preserved horizontal line at the left edge of the first line. However, ξ in l. 3²⁵ offers an opportunity for comparison: the remains in l. 1 can be the shortened—compared with ξ in l. 3—horizontal line of ξ. After ωξ approximately five letters are worn out so that they became illegible; but the number of letters depends on the letters that may be imagined here (ω in ll. 3 and 6 require some more space and the other letters, I in ll. 1, 4, and 6, less). Wessely seems to be right in taking α, ε, or ο into consideration because of the round letter remaining (at the end of the line). But this must remain undecided just as the potential ligature of π or τ with ε or ω, which might fit the

²⁴ For instance, de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apocrifos*, 85, presents the various readings as annotations in addition to the printed transcription, Wessely's included. Similarly Schneemelcher, 'Das sogenannte Fajjumfragment', 87.

²⁵ Following Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments* I, 174, against Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 81. Lührmann does not justify his rejection of ξ.

faint ink traces following a completely lost letter.²⁶ Therefore, on grounds of the state of the fragment, it seems justifiable to read στια[at the end of the line, as suggested by Wessely. Bickell's ονπα[or ουκπα[appear to be unlikely after a fruitful comparison between the letter remains and τ in ll. 2, 3, and 5 (with a small hook to the left; but different in l. 6 with a long leg that projects below the line) and, above all, the sequence τι in l. 2.²⁷ Be that as it may, ultimate reliability cannot be achieved here by means of comparisons or microscope.

- l. 2: Despite the abrasion the preserved letters can be read without any problem. The rest of a horizontal line at the beginning of the line suggests τ, which then appropriately completes the dative article of τῇ νυκτί.
- l. 3: The major part of a straight downward stroke to the right is visible at the end of the line. In comparison to ν in ll. 2, 3, 5, and 6 the left leg of a ν appears to be similar. Further, the completion with ν of τόν (consequently a masculine accusative object that goes with πατάσσω)²⁸ is justified, because a correct reconstruction can be achieved.
- l. 4: The remains of a vertical line at this height at the beginning of the line may belong to π. This leads to the reasonable completion of the word πρόβατα. Proof is provided by comparable π and their vertical strokes in ll. 3 and 4; their strokes project from the letter body more to the right (than to the left).
- l. 5: The suspension πετ of Πέτ(ρου)²⁹ is written in red ink, and π is slightly darkened due to various reasons. Both π and ε are very similar to those written in black ink, so the letters in red ink were written by the same scribe who wrote the body of the text, although the horizontal stroke of τ crosses its vertical leg only

²⁶ Cf. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments* I, 174. Two pages later (176) he reconstructs ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐξάγειν ὡς εἰ[ι]πε[ν] ὅτι ἄ[παντες].

²⁷ Analogously that comparison makes πα[at the edge of the fragment, as suggested by Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 81, more unlikely than στια[.

²⁸ Alternatively, an accusative object with the neutral accusative article τό could complete πατάσσω as well, so that the remaining part of a letter would then mark the beginning of a new word. First of all, words starting with ν, η, or κ come into question in regard of the same letters preserved on the papyrus.

²⁹ Only Nösgen, ZKLW 5 (1885) 462–470, disputed the assumption that πετ is a short form of Πέτ(ρου) and regarded it as a stenographically shortened verb form. See the critical comment by Savi, 'Le fragment évangélique', 325.

here.³⁰ Thus, the assumption of a second scribe is not necessary. Different from the conventional use of *nomina sacra*³¹ with a horizontal supralinear stroke above the relevant letters, the shortening of the form is indicated by two dots in red ink, one each above π and τ (to form $\dot{\pi}\epsilon\dot{\tau}$).³² It is true that the usage of dots to indicate abbreviations is known from other papyri,³³ but $\dot{\pi}\epsilon\dot{\tau}$ is striking and unique so that we must reckon with the scribe's individual will to design.³⁴ The spaces in front of and after the short form are a sign of the later insertion of the suspension. By using another ink an interruption of the writing process became unavoidable anyway. It is not mandatory to assume that the short form just emerged, because the blank space left was too small and the full form could not be adapted to fit the space.³⁵ Even if the scribe might have been forced to form the suspension, because the space he had left was too small (as Wessely stops to consider), the scribe already had the firm intention to stress the name while writing the manuscript. Otherwise the writing of the short form in eye-catching red ink and, thus, leaving space for $\pi\epsilon\tau$ and the later insertion would have been unnecessary. From

³⁰ Cf. the obviously different way of writing of almost every *tau* on the fragment.

³¹ The fundamental literature about the *nomina sacra* is still to be found in Hurtado, 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra', 655–73.

³² The representation as $\dot{\pi}\epsilon\dot{\tau}$ in Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 407, is inappropriate. There and in idem, *Fragmente*, 73–4 and 81, no reference is given to the dots (indicating the shortening) above π and τ of Πέτ(ρσ).

³³ Examples of the use of a dot as a form of abbreviation are offered by Wessely, 'Ueber das Zeitalter', 513–5; idem, *Les plus anciens monuments* I, 176. Different are the so-called 'scribal error dots' (already recognized by Wessely, 'Ueber das Zeitalter', 514 n. 1), for instance in 11QPs^a 16.7 and 21.2, which erase wrongly written *tetragrammaton* for a copyist or a reader (i.e., for private and public reading). The reverence for the name of God demanded that the once written *tetragrammaton* could not simply be wiped out. Cf. Sanders, DJD 4, 37 and 42; Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 55–7, 213–4; Wolters, 'The Tetragrammaton', 91–3.

³⁴ To the point, for example, Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 80: "Völlige Einheitlichkeit [of the application of abbreviations; author's note] dürfen wir nirgends erwarten, da wir ja Handschriften, nicht Drucke vor uns haben."—"We must not expect an absolute uniformity [of the application of abbreviations; author's note], because we have manuscripts in front of us and not prints."

³⁵ This view is held by Wessely, 'Ueber das Zeitalter', 511. There are some manuscripts that illustrate the practice of later filled in spaces with words that did not exactly fit in the spaces left for them, for instance, 11QPs^a, 4Q165 (with the *tetragrammaton* that did not fill the space), P.Oxy. IV 656 (with κύριος not filling the space), and P.Fouad.inv. 266 (with two instances where the *tetragrammaton* in square letters became too large for the spaces). Cf. Wolters, 'The Tetragrammaton', 87–99; Dunand, *Papyrus Grecs Bibliques*, 12–13, 39–50; van Haelst no. 13.

a purely practical view it suggests itself anyway that the scribe did not stop his writing in the middle of his work in order to insert a word with his writing implement in a different colored ink, after which he then proceeded to write in black ink. Thus, the use of the red ink alone indicates that the accentuation of Πέτρος was intended from the very beginning of the writing process. In addition, the adaptation of the short form to the blank space by leaving some distance between the previous and following words makes a deliberate use of the suspension more probable than a spontaneous formation of the short form $\pi\epsilon\tau$ while the scribe started writing it. In any case the form of the suspension here ($\pi\epsilon\tau$) must be considered with comparable *nomina sacra*, especially with $\overline{\eta}$,³⁶ possibly the oldest form but at least contemporaneous with the oldest contractions. Specific terms and names were attributed with a particular theological meaning by shortening and accentuating them. In the present case the name Πέτρος receives a striking position and importance within its context.³⁷ As far as the different color of the ink is concerned, *P.Vindob.G* 2004,³⁸ also mentioned by Wessely,³⁹ can be referred to, a document from 124 C.E. about the legacy of a certain Origenes. Top and finishing colophons, corrections, and *paraphe* (signing a document with initials or other forms of shortened

³⁶ Here are of special importance *P.Vindob.G* 31974/*P.Beatty* II (P⁴⁵); *P.Egerton* 2 with *P.Köln* VI 255; *P.Oxy.* II 210; VIII 1079 (P¹⁸); X 1224; *Magdalen College Gr.* 18 (P⁶⁴). These all, according to their individual date, are papyri from the second or third century, possibly from the early fourth century (thus, excluded in the parchment palimpsest *Bibl.Nat.Suppl.Gr.* 726 [0104] from the seventh century, which has $\overline{\eta}$, too). Besides, this suspension has to be considered with its usage in inscriptions, which took place contemporaneously with forms such as $\overline{\eta}$ or $\overline{\chi\rho}$. See, above all, Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, 72; Dölger, *Das Fisch-Symbol in frühchristlicher Zeit*. IXΘYC, 263–4, 356–7, 359–61, 382–3, 386; Dinkler, 'Älteste Christliche Denkmäler', 51–2. A particularly striking example is the inscription *Waddington* 2558 (in *Waddington, Inscriptiones Graecae et Latines de la Syrie*, 583–4), which bears the date October 1, 318. Apart from many words that are abbreviated by means of suspension, this inscription of the 'synagogue' of the Marcionites (Συναγωγὴ Μαρκωνιστῶν) presents the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\eta}$, while directly following Χριστοῦ is written in full. *Waddington* reconstructs another short form (κυ without supralinear stroke) as κ(υρίο)υ by analogy with later following σ(ωτή)ρ(ος), though also Ἰη(σοῦ) might have served as role model for κυ(ρίου).

³⁷ This is explicitly dealt with under the heading '3. Anmerkungen zur Beschriftung des Fragmentes' ('3. Notes on the Writing on the Fragment') in Kraus, 'Ad fontes', 7–10.

³⁸ The papyrus was first described in *PERF* as no. 218 and later edited as *CPR* I 18, *Stud.Pal.* XX 4, and *Grundz.Mitt.* 84.

³⁹ Cf. Wessely, 'Ueber das Zeitalter', 510–11.

names, or with a signature stamp) are written in red ink and stick out from the rest of the text, which is written in the usual soot ink. But it is less significant in regard to *P.Vindob.G* 2325 that the connection of *P.Vindob.G* 2004 were stressed, but more that the specific elements in the text, above all of the top and finishing colophons, were indicated. For the *nomen sacrum* of the so-called Fayûm-Gospel was deliberately inserted in red-colored ink later on, i.e. the scribe himself wanted it to stand out from the rest of the text.⁴⁰

1. 6: By taking the roughly rounded upper part of the two o's in l. 4 as a benchmark, the reading of an o for the remains of the first letter of the line seems to be plausible. Besides, the article fits the nominative ἄλεκτρών very well. It is amazing that the four canonical Gospels do not have this noun in any manuscript known to me, though there would have been multiple possibilities for variants of the repeatedly used ἄλέκτωρ of Matt 26:34, 74, 75, Mark 14:30, 68, 72, Luke 22:34, 60, 61, and John 13:38, 18:27 (for the sake of completeness, but not really illuminating, cf. the nonrecurring use of ἄλέκτωρ in Septuagint Prov 30:31 and of ἄλεκτρών in Septuagint 3 Macc 5:23). It is not clear to me why both, ἄλέκτωρ and ἄλεκτρών, being used synonymously, should have originated from the Egyptian dialect of the Greek. Because of the discovery of most papyrus and many parchment manuscripts of the New Testament in Egypt, ἄλεκτρών should have been attested somehow or other.⁴¹ In addition, a close look at the citation list of both nouns shows that ἄλέκτωρ was indeed originally the usually more poetic form,⁴² while ἄλεκτρών seemed to be more generally common in classical Greek.⁴³ Obviously, the situation changed, as ἄλέκτωρ

⁴⁰ As a result similar to Bickell, 'Bemerkungen', 516, and against Wessely, 'Ueber das Zeitalter', 511.

⁴¹ Against Wessely, 'Ueber das Zeitalter', 515 n. 1.

⁴² Here the evidence in regard of ἄλεκτρών and ἄλέκτωρ provided by some standard reference tools is sufficient. See Pape I; Preisigke/Kiessling, *Wörterbuch* I and IV; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*⁶; LSJ⁹. A sear of the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyrus (DDBDP)* of the *Perseus Project* [<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/psearch?lang=greek>; last access 07/09/2006] for ἄλέκτωρ results in (apart from the New Testament) A., A 1671; Eu. 858; Ar., *Nu.* 666, 850; *V* 1490; Plu., *Alc.* 4,3 (abbreviations according to LSJ⁹).

⁴³ However, the *DDBDP* has ἄλεκτρών in Aeschin. 1.53; 1.58–59; Ar., *Au.* 71–72, 483–485, 1363–1369; *Nu.* 4–5, 660–661, 662–663, 665, 850, 1427–1429, 1430–1431; *Ec.* 390–391; *Ra.* 1344–1345; *Lys.* 897–898; *V* 100–102, 796; D. 54.9; Pl., *Cra.* 423c;

became the common word in the vernacular Greek of the first to the third century (cf. the evidence of the papyri from these centuries)⁴⁴ and ἄλεκρυόν appears to have become the literary word according to its common use in classical texts, which the word seemed to have preserved. Correspondingly, ἄλεκρυόν in *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is certainly remarkable against the background of the more common and preferred use of ἄλέκτωρ in the first to the third century, no matter if ἄλεκρυόν should finally be seen as an archaism or as rather literary usage. It must not be ignored that the fragment bears witness to onomatopoeic κοκκύζω (the completion of κοκ[in l. 6), which expresses the cockcrow more vividly than the semantically weaker φωνέω in Matt 26:34//Mark 14:30//Luke 22:34. Its actual meaning can be inferred with the help of κόκκυ, the exclamation ‘cuckoo!’, and/or κόκκυξ, ‘cuckoo’, in the meaning of ‘to cry cuckoo’ or ‘to cry like a cuckoo’.⁴⁵ The verb is clearly determined by ἄλεκρυόν, so that the meaning is ‘to crow’, which possibly resonates that a signal is given by this crowing sound.⁴⁶ It has to be emphasized that neither κοκκύζω nor κοκκύ or κόκκυξ is attested by any manuscript of the Septuagint or the New Testament known to me, a result that has already been delineated above in regard of ἄλεκρυόν.

- l. 7: While Bickell seemed to be confident of reading]παρν[and Wessely cautiously asked considered that, with the exception of π at the beginning of the line, the remains of writing do not allow

Thl. 164c; *Smp.* 223b–c; *Lj.* 211e; *Hp.Ma.* 295c–e; Paus. 2.34.2; 5.25.9; 6.26.3; 9.22.4; *Plu., Nic.* 9.5; *X., Eq.* 18; *Smp.* 4.9.

⁴⁴ A search in the *DDBDP* (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html>; last access 07/09/2006) confirms this observation quantitatively. Cf. for instance (chronologically listed), ἄλέκτωρ in *P.Tebt.* I 140 [72 B.C.E.]; *BGU VIII* 1883, r 1.3,7 [60/59]; *PGiss.* 93.7 [17–138 C.E.]; *PRyl.* II 166.19 [26]; IV 601, r11.27 [26]; II 167.18 [39]; *PCol.* VIII 215.28 [100; repr. as *SB V* 7660]; *BGU IV* 1067.11 [101/102]; *PFay.* 119.29 [103]; *PMil.Vogl.* IV 240.17 [117–138]; VI 269.14 [124]; II 104.16 [127]; 107.4 [153/154]; VI 288.16 [155]; *PKron* 34.20,40 [134; repr. as *PMil.Vogl.* II 38 and *SB VI* 9480.3]; 41.20 [140]; *PMil.Vogl.* III 178 and *SB VI* 9480.4]; *C.Pap.Gr* I 31.313 [140]; *PStras.* V 362.18 [149/150]; *PColl.Youtie* I 27.20 [165]; *PMil.Vogl.* III 143.15 [170/171]; *SB XIV* 11720.25 [170/171]; *PMil.Vogl.* VI 290.21 [II]; *PStras.* IX 837, v7 [about 200]; *BGU I* 269,4.8 [II–III]; *SB VI* 9245.3 [II/III]; *PWisc.* II 60.5,18 [III]. In contrast ἄλεκρυόν in *PMil.Vogl.* III 188.1.18 [127?; repr. as *SB VIII* 9653]; *POxy.* IX 1207.8 [175–176].

⁴⁵ Also generally used for the cry of a bird or as an alternative for ταχύ ‘quick’. Cf. Pape I and LSJ⁹, s.v. κόκκυ, κόκκυξ, and κοκκύζω.

⁴⁶ Cf. Pape I, s.v. κοκκύζω; LSJ⁹, s.v. κοκκύζω II.

any reliable or at least probable reading and recorded] [⁴⁷ the scarce rest of the letter following potential π (indicated by a right leg and the remains of a vertical stroke above it) may belong to α . When compared to other α 's on the fragment the curve and the pointing upper part of a letter would suit α pretty well. Even more uncertain is to decide on the last of the four letters preserved on the papyrus. While υ appears to be unlikely due to missing remains of a curve (but see υ in ll. 2 and 6), ν and η are two competing alternatives, but only if the assumption is right, that the two letter traces really belong to a single letter. Admittedly, the rests of ink of the third letter, which Bickell read as ρ , cannot be identified.

3. *Reconstruction and Assessment of the Text (Preserved)*

Completing partial words preserved by *PVindob.G 2325* and supplementing them with appropriate grammatical elements generates a remarkable and readable text. The distribution of the letters on the recto must adhere to a stichometrical pattern for the arrangement of the text in one column. That is why the reconstruction as follows is suggested together with the number of letters at the end of each line.

1	[ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐ]ξάγειν ὡς [εἶπε ὅ]τι ἅ[παντες]	30
	[ἐν ταύτῃ] τῇ νυκτὶ σκανδαλίσ[θήσας]	28
	[θε κατὰ] τὸ γραφὲν πατάξω τὸν [ποιμένα]	30
	[καὶ τὰ] πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσ[εται εἰ]	31
5	[ποντος το]ῦ Πέτ(ρου) καὶ εἰ πάντες ο[ὗκ ἐγώ ·]	29
	[πρὶν ἢ] ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν δις κοκ[κύσει τρίς]	30
	[σύ σήμερόν με ἄ]πα[ρ]ν[ήση]	

It is worth discussing for the first line whether to put the preposition ἐν at the end of the previous line, if the letter ω of τῷ is estimated as being sufficiently wide compared to the other letters of the papyrus so as to fill the line harmoniously at the left side without ἐν. Both alternatives do not really cause any difficulties for the stichometry, because a span of 28 letters at the least and 31 at the most is an admissible distribution of the letters. Besides, the reduction of the space each letter claims at the end of the line would be a further possibility to guarantee equal

⁴⁷ Cf. Bickell, 'Ein Papyrusfragment', 208–9 and 'Das nichtkanonische Evangelienfragment', 53, and Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments*, 174.

stichometry. The particular addenda that supplement the text beyond the left and right margin of the papyrus, result in reconstruction of a regular column. In order to achieve this, a small space can be assumed between καὶ τὰ in l. 4 that corresponds with the small gap left after ι in ll. 2 and 5. However, it is problematic to presume a particular *nomen sacrum* (for instance, τς)⁴⁸ for the reconstruction, because the papyrus itself does not offer any analogy. To reconstruct σὺ σήμερον (cf. Mark 14:30) or σήμερον σύ in l. 7 is inconsequential, whereas it is of relevance to fill the fragmentary line with με to the left of]πα.ν[.⁴⁹ A postposition of με, such as in Matt 26:34 and Mark 14:30 with ἀπαρνῆσθι με, does not fit the position of the letter remains. According to stichometry and the short ending of l. 6 on the papyrus (in contrast to the longer l. 5), it is sufficient here to reconstruct the end of l. 6 with nine letters,⁵⁰ while further the thought of a small space after κοκ[κύσει can be entertained by analogy with the spaces after ι of νυκτί in l. 2 and καὶ in l. 5.

Although there are some agreements with the synoptic tradition, above all with Matt 26:30–31, 33–34 and Mark 14:26–27, 29–30 (*P.Vindob.G* 2325 has in common with the Markan version the two cockcrows, δις ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι, and the exact word order of the citation of Septuagint Zech 13:7),⁵¹ no further literary dependency can compellingly be demonstrated.⁵² Thus, from this several alternatives arise: the text can be (a) a harmonization,⁵³ a paraphrasing of or an excerpt from synoptic material, (b) a part of a Gospel we do not know anything else about,⁵⁴ or (c) a passage of the *Gospel of Peter*.

At first glance alternative (a) appears to be plausible and proximate. However, the difficulty arises from how to explain the conspicuous words ἀλεκτρύων and κοκκύζω. Even if just hypothetically, the question

⁴⁸ Cf. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments*, 177: λέ / γει 'Ις· πρὶν. Analogously Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 81: [γει 'Ι(ησοῦ)ς· πρὶν].

⁴⁹ Cf. the attempts at reconstructing that way in de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, 85.

⁵⁰ See the transcription of Harnack, 'Das Evangelienfragment', 481–97, reprinted in de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, 81 with κοκ[κύσει σήμερον (twelve letters).

⁵¹ Cf. also the text critical variants in Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint.

⁵² See the comparisons performed by Savi, 'Le fragment évangélique', 325–9; Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments*, 174–6. Further cf. n. 3.

⁵³ See the account of the hypotheses given by Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 216–30, who excludes "a dependence of the *Gospel of Peter* upon any of the canonical gospels" (230).

⁵⁴ Schneemelcher, 'Das sogenannte Fajjumfragment', 87, notes alternatives (a) and (b) as *status quo* of the discussion.

arises, whether someone who paraphrases or excerpts a well-known text would not use the same diction as the original and thus would not integrate more complicated vocabulary into the text. Besides, the evidently shorter textual version in comparison with Matt and Mark (in addition to the obvious differences) is also an argument against the assumption of a harmonization. Thus, alternative (b) is theoretically preferable to (a), because the sparse amount of text on the fragment which even includes a quotation from the Septuagint and therefore does not allow any conclusions from and about style and language use—has two distinctive features when compared to the versions of the Synoptics.

Dieter Lührmann⁵⁵ argues in favor of alternative (c) and proposes a different possible reconstruction of ll. 4–5 with εἰπόντος ἐμο]υ Πέτ(ρου), according to which Peter is said to report the dialogue as a first person narrator. In doing so Lührmann falls back on results about the point of view of the narration in the main witnesses to the *Gospel of Peter*.⁵⁶ Although the additional letter does not cause any trouble as far as stichometry is concerned, there are doubts about it in respect of the reconstruction of the line beyond the left edge of the papyrus. Palaeographically speaking μ (that is, without any point of comparison on the papyrus) and the horizontal line of ε projecting from its body cause trouble. When reconstructing the line in that way to the left, there would not only have been eight letters on the fragment (however, slightly compensated for by two ο's) but with ε an additional one that is slightly wider (than the average other letters). What has already been discussed in this study with regard to the position of ἐν for the proposed reconstruction of l. 1 leads to the preference of εἰπόντος το]ῦ Πέτ(ρου) to complete ll. 4–5. Moreover, the text preserved by *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is not attested by any identified manuscript of the *Gospel of Peter* and thus

⁵⁵ Cf. Lührmann, 'POx 4009', 406–7. Further see idem, *Fragmente*, 73–4, 80–1. I am indebted to Dieter Lührmann for sending to me a copy of the table of contents of his then forthcoming volume, according to which the following have to be considered for a discussion of the *Gospel of Peter*: *P.Cair.* 10759; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2949; *P.Oxy.* LX 4009; *P.Vindob.G* 2325; the ostrakon van Haelst no. 741 (72–95). Unfortunately, the ostrakon could not be located after intensive inquiries. Vassil Dobrev, archivist of the *Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale* in Cairo, could not find the ostrakon, although van Haelst claims in his *Catalogue* that it is in the collection of the IFAO (letter dated 17/09/2000).

⁵⁶ Cf. Lührmann, 'POx 2949', 216–26; idem/Parsons, 'POxy. 4009', 2; idem, 'POx 4009', 398; idem, *Fragmente*, especially 73. Further see van Haelst nos. 592 (*POxy.* XLI 2949) and 598 (*P.Cair.* 10759).

not verifiable.⁵⁷ If at all, the remarkable *nomen sacrum* could have been regarded as a particular theological emphasis put on the name Πέτρος and consequently have been used to promote a potential attribution of the fragment to the *Gospel of Peter*.⁵⁸ However and as delineated earlier, the *nomina sacra* are subject to a scribe's individual will of designing, above all when a less conventional *nomen sacrum* is used, i.e. none of the fifteen principally used ones.⁵⁹ Thus, the matter of Πέτ(ρον) need not be pursued any further here.⁶⁰

All in all, the linguistic and textual particularities of *PVindob.G* 2325 suggest that we have here a passage from a hitherto unknown Gospel. In addition, the concentration of palaeographical details brings forth many significant aspects that have to be considered for discussion of other biblical papyri, the *nomina sacra*, the use of the codex as an early Christian form of the book, and the evaluation of the texts of the non-canonical Gospels among early Christians, to mention only a few issues.

Addenda

Above in note 2 I mentioned the discovery of a witness to the Letter to the Hebrews (Heb 2:9–11; 3:3–6), *PVindob.G* 42417 (sixth/seventh century), and the stir it created among journalists and others seeking to create a sensation. In 2001 in the magazine *Antike Welt*, the orientalist Karl Jaroš suggested, for instance, an alternative date for the papyrus (second/third century) and another sequence of the text edited by Amphilochius Papathomas in 2000.⁶¹ However, these suggestions

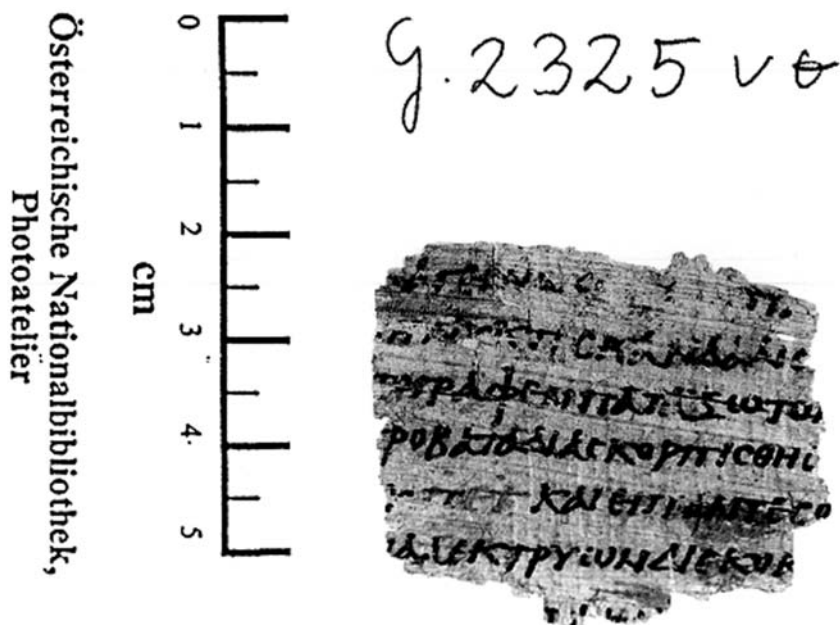
⁵⁷ Lührmann, 'POx 4009', 407, formulates his attribution to the *Gospel of Peter* in a correspondingly cautious way as "möglichlicherweise" ('possibly'). Cf. also idem, *Fragmente*, 73.

⁵⁸ For information and literature see Röwekamp, 'Art. Petrus-Literatur', 495–8.

⁵⁹ The *nomina sacra* are covered in detail by O'Callaghan, «*Nomina sacra*», 25–33; idem, «*Nominum sacrorum*», 99–122; Jankowski, 'I "nomina sacra" nei papiri del LXX', 81–116.

⁶⁰ The *nomen sacrum* μω for Μωϋσης in *PEgerton* 2 can just as little be taken as proof of a Moses tradition, which, besides, is contradicted by the use of some other *nomina sacra* and the content of the papyrus. For *PEgerton* 2 and *PKöln* VI 255 cf. Wieland Willker's bibliography (http://www-user.uni-bremen.de/~wie/Egerton/Egerton_home.html; last access 08/09/2006). Furthermore, the sparse amount of text of *PVindob.G* 2325 does not have enough clear characteristics to argue in that direction.

⁶¹ Cf. Jaroš, 'Ein neues Fragment des Hebräerbriefes', 271–3. See also Jaroš, 'Review of Stefan Enste, *Kein Markustext*', 380, where Jaroš inadequately compares this Vienna

Fig. 2: *PVindob. G 2325*

together with Jaroš's line of argument and conclusions are not only methodologically problematic, but they are blatantly incorrect.⁶² In the following year in the same magazine Hans Förster corrected and rectified the most obvious errors and shortcomings in Jaroš' study.⁶³ Förster refers to Jaroš' odd denomination of the short forms conventionally called *nomina sacra* as *nomina divina*,⁶⁴ the lack of sound palaeographical reasoning (although Jaroš himself involves palaeography as a reference discipline) and the resulting date for the papyrus (so that Papathomas' dating to the sixth/seventh century still remains undisputed), and some

papyrus with 7Q5, the heavily discussed papyrus fragment from Qumran cave 7. See the indispensable corrections brought forward by Förster, '7Q5', 205–7.

⁶² See Römer, 'Christliche Texte V', 369: "Der Artikel von K. Jaroš in *AW* 2 (2001) 271–273 enthält sehr schöne Fotos beider Seiten des Papyrus, entbehrt aber sonst jeder Sachkenntnis."—"K. Jaroš' article in *AW* 2 (2001) contains beautiful photographs of both sides of the papyrus, but apart from that lacks every kind of know how."

⁶³ Cf. Förster, 'Heilige Namen in Heiligen Texten', 321–4.

⁶⁴ On *nomina sacra* see now Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 95–134 (and on the staurogram, 135–54), although his hypotheses are problematic. See further Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 119–25.

strange theological construct of ideas behind the *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\eta\nu}$ in l. 1 of the recto of *PVindob.G* 42417.⁶⁵ In addition, Amphilochius Papatomas felt obliged to write about the Vienna papyrus with some text of the Letter to the Hebrews once more in 2001.⁶⁶

For the use of red ink see chapter 4 ‘*P.Oxy.* V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms’ in this volume.

For the suspensions $\overline{\eta}$ see chapter 3 ‘*Ad fontes*—The Benefit of the Consultation of Original Manuscripts such as *PVindob.G* 31974’ (passage ‘3. Notes on the Writing on the Fragment’). It is noteworthy that $\overline{\eta}$ immediately followed by the suspension $\overline{\chi\rho}$ for $\overline{\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma}$ is only attested by the *Chester Beatty Gospel Codex* (*P.Beatty* I; in Acts 16:18) and *P.Oxy.* VIII 1079 (\mathfrak{P}^{18} ; in Rev 1:5). Still the immediate sequence of $\overline{\eta} \overline{\chi\rho}$ has not been considered adequately in the discussion of the *nomina sacra* and may need further reflection. In addition, *PRyl.* III 464 (4th century; discussed as an astrological text and extract from an apocryphal Gospel) has $\overline{\eta\eta}$ in l. 12 of the verso.

For the dots above π and τ ($\pi\epsilon\tau$)⁶⁷ and my discussion above of so-called ‘scribal error dots’ *P.Schub.* 43 from the 2nd century C.E. is of interest with $\epsilon\epsilon$ (in l. 1 of the recto) and η ,⁶⁸ i.e. two dots above the letters ϵ and η (not to be mixed up with *diaeresis/trema*, which is used in l. 2 above ι). According to the first editor Wilhelm Schubart the purpose of the dots is somewhat miraculous: “Sind $\epsilon\epsilon$ und η Tilgungen? Oder sollen die Punkte hervorheben?”—‘Are $\epsilon\epsilon$ and η erasures? Or are the dots meant to emphasize?’ The problem is that it cannot be reconstructed from the vague context what the dots should erase (and why they should do so) or why these letters should be emphasized. But this must be discussed in a special study dedicated to this phenomenon and associated practices in manuscripts.

At the time of writing this study I was not aware of Jack Finegan’s volume introducing apocryphal writings of the New Testament from 1969, in which Finegan presents a Greek transcription (without a distinction between certain and uncertain letters), an English translation,

⁶⁵ Förster’s study is very instructive for identifying the scientific nature and approach of academic works.

⁶⁶ Cf. Papatomas, ‘A New Testimony’ (2001), 107–10.

⁶⁷ Unfortunately, seldom are these dots actually given in treatments of the papyrus, so that Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 99, is extraordinary in this respect (“Unusual *nomina sacra* $\pi\epsilon\tau$ highlighted in red ink.”).

⁶⁸ It is not indicated in the transcription which η Schubart meant.

and a photograph of *PVindob.G* 2325.⁶⁹ Also later on I learned about the first volume of Christian apocryphal texts introduced, translated, and supplemented with a bibliography on behalf of the *Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC)* with the “Fragment du Fayoum” in it.⁷⁰ It is noteworthy to mention that the text of *PVindob.G* 2325 is also reprinted in Aland’s *Synopsis quattuor Evangeliorum*⁷¹ and dealt with in Geerard’s *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamentum*.⁷²

In the meantime the so-called Fayûm-Gospel received attention again due to a revival of interest in the apocryphal Christian literature. So, it is not surprising that collections with texts belonging to that genre contain *PVindob.G* 2325 as well. For instance, Andrew Bernhard has recently edited and translated the papyrus (together with the appropriate photographs), which he does not list among those that may be fragments of the *Gospel of Peter* and together with other fragments is characterized as “small fragments of various unidentified gospels”.⁷³ Bernhard’s reconstruction of ll. 6–7 is problematic:

6 [λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· πρὶ]ν ἁλεκτρῶν δις κοκ[κύσει,]
7 τρὶς ἄ]παρ[ήση με

Both lines do not actually correspond with the papyrus in its preserved fragmentary state from a palaeographical point of view. The beginning of l. 6 is reconstructed with nine additional letters to the left, so that a line beginning together with the previous lines can not be achieved. Probably, the end of l. 6 with five letters (only ε is slightly larger than the average letter on the papyrus) would come earlier than that of, for instance, l. 5 with seven letters (among them two ε’s and one ω). L. 7 is only reconstructed tentatively: of course, τρὶς ἄ] does not fill the line

⁶⁹ Finegan, *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus*, 210–2 and fig. 8. In sum, Finegan seems to depend on Wessely’s transcription.

⁷⁰ Bertrand, ‘Fragment du Fayoum’, 421–3. Bertrand’s French translation is based on Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments* I, 174, and 176–7.

⁷¹ Aland, *Synopsis quattuor Evangeliorum*, 144.

⁷² Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, no. 5.

⁷³ Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 4 (see also 98). For *PVindob.G* 2325 see 50, 99, and 104–5. In an email from September 14, 2006, Andrew Bernhard discussed his decision, even if he felt inclined to see aspects that suggest that *PVindob.G* 2325 and *P.Oxy.* X 1224 “could have been a part of the Gospel of Peter”. Besides, his book is advertised on the Internet by Continuum (see their homepage) as a “special student’s version” that comes “without any potentially confusing apparatus, editorial signs, or unidentifiable word fragments”.

adequately and does not fit according to the position of the rest of the papyrus with]πα . υ[.

Mauro Pesce included a Greek transcription, an Italian translation, and a short discussion of its potential connection with the *Gospel of Peter* in his collective volume with ‘forgotten words of Jesus’.⁷⁴

Dieter Lührmann has repeatedly suggested assigning *P.Vindob.G* 2325 to the *Gospel of Peter*, but always with advisable and adequate caution.⁷⁵ In brief, he primarily argues that the two criteria ‘first person narration’ and ‘a synoptic narrative style’ can justify for doing so.⁷⁶ Still I myself am skeptical about Lührmann’s assignment on the basis of two objections: (1) his reconstruction of ll. 4–5 as εἰπόντος ἐμο]ῦ Πέτ(ρου) instead of εἰπόντος το]ῦ Πέτ(ρου) causes palaeographical problems, because of the additional letter ε and μ (substituting for τ) being wider than most of the other letters would prolong l. 5 so far to the left that a comensurate beginning with all the other lines becomes virtually impossible.⁷⁷ (2) The first person narrative is not an exclusive characteristic of the *Gospel of Peter*.⁷⁸ Recently, Lührmann added that there is a correspondence as far as content is concerned between the Akhmîm-Codex and *P.Vindob.G* 2325: both do not have any reference to Galilee, where Jesus announces Peter’s denial but not that they will meet again after his resurrection.⁷⁹ This is an interesting observation that will help to qualify the text preserved in more detail and more appropriately. However, it does not affect the two reservations with categorizing *P.Vindob.G* 2325 as a fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*.

In a study published in 2006 Paul Foster critically examines Lührmann’s allocation of manuscripts to the *Gospel of Peter*, among them also *P.Vindob.G* 2325.⁸⁰ In sum, Foster briefly discusses the *nomen*

⁷⁴ See, for instance, Pesce, *Le parole dimenticate di Gesù*, 130–1, 620.

⁷⁵ Cf. Lührmann, ‘Petrus als Evangelist’, 357, 364; idem, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 87–90; idem, ‘Die Überlieferung des apokryph gewordenen Petrus-evangeliums’. Lührmann correctly notes that it was originally Gustav Bickell who mentioned the Fayûm-Gospel together with the *Gospel of Peter* (*Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 89 n. 103 referring to PERF no. 541).

⁷⁶ Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 87.

⁷⁷ See Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 50, who briefly states: “However, the restoration of the first person pronoun in line 5 of *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is hypothetical (i.e., uncertain and unnecessary).”

⁷⁸ Cf. Nicklas, ‘Ein “neutestamentliches Apokryphon”’, 266, and Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrus-apokalypse*, 63, 68.

⁷⁹ Cf. Lührmann, ‘Die Überlieferung des apokryph gewordenen Petrus-evangeliums’, 34 (expected page number).

⁸⁰ Cf. Foster, ‘Are there any Early Fragments’, 1–28.

sacrum and, what is more significant and convincing, he argues that a plausible reconstruction of the text is possible on the basis of Mark 14:29–30 (where the name Πέτρος is used with the article and which is part of a third person narrative). He does not follow Lührmann and rejects his proposal to regard *P.Vindob.G* 2325 as a fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*.⁸¹ He ends with citing Wilhelm Schneemelcher: “the brevity of the fragment forbids sure statements of any kind: the completions also remain questionable”.⁸² In a forthcoming article, Dieter Lührmann opposes Foster’s criticism, basically by repeating his initial argumentation in support of his proposal.⁸³

In note 5 of the present essay I point out that I regard *P.Vindob.G* 2325 as a fragment from a papyrus roll. Recently, Larry W. Hurtado also stated that “[t]he Fayoum fragment (*P.Vindob.G* 2325; van Haelst 589) is a roll.”⁸⁴

In an edition of the Greek manuscripts of the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which I published together with Tobias Nicklas, a slightly revised transcription from the one printed above was published.⁸⁵ This is the result of a re-assessment of the fragment in the course of preparing the edition⁸⁶ and a contribution to a cumulative and critical edition of manuscript fragments discussed as being parts of apocryphal Gospels, which I intend to publish in cooperation with Stanley E. Porter in the series *Texts and Editions for New Testament Study (TENT)*.

⁸¹ Cf. Foster, ‘Are there any Early Fragments’, 19–22.

⁸² Foster, ‘Are there any Early Fragments’, 22, cites the English translation (Schneemelcher, NTApo 1, 102). The German original reads (‘Das sogenannte Fajumfragment’, 87): “Irgendwelche sicheren Aussagen verbieten sich bei der Kürze des Fragments; die Ergänzungen bleiben allenfalls fraglich.”

⁸³ Lührmann, ‘Die Überlieferung des apokryph gewordenen Petrus-evangeliums’, 48–51 (expected pages).

⁸⁴ Hurtado, ‘The New Testament’, 11 n. 19. Interestingly, van Haelst (no. 589) does not mention this possibility (“Fragment d’un feuillet isolé ou d’un volumen”). See further, Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 43–93 (‘The Early Christian Preference for the Codex’) with a treatment of the ‘roll-codex’ issue that offers aspects for further discussions of the subject matter.

⁸⁵ Cf. Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 66. There the three possibilities (a), (b), and (c) are mentioned without any preference for the one or the other (68). However, I still consider alternative (b), i.e. *P.Vindob.G* 2325 as part of an unknown (apocryphal) Gospel as preferable to (a) and (c).

⁸⁶ Previous to the publication of the edition my short note ‘*P.Vindob.G* 2325: Einige Modifikationen von Transkription und Rekonstruktion’ was accepted for publication by the editors of *ZAC/JAC* in early 2004 and is scheduled to appear in vol. 10 in 2007.

1 ξαγεινωσ ±5 .τι.
]τηνυκτικανδαλις[
]τογραφενπαταξωτον[
]προβαταδιασκορπισθης[
 5]υπετκαιειπαντεςο[
].αλεκτρωνδικκοκ[
]πα . ν[

The differences may appear minor, as they do not actually affect the reconstructed text, which has been revised in the Kraus/Nicklas edition and in my new assessment of *PVindob.G* 2325 with the help of discussing matters with Andrew Bernhard, for whom I am indebted for making me aware of a few of the necessary changes.

In order to have the description of the first line and the transcription harmonize the missing letters should be counted as ±5 and the following letter indicated (α, ο, or ε?), thus .τι.[. The traces of the last letter may belong to α. In l. 6 the first letter is uncertain and must be given as a dot only (even if there is a preference for ο or the remains are the right leg of ν).⁸⁷

1	[ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐ]ξάγειν ὥς [εἶπεν] ὅτι· ἅ[παντες]	30
	[ἐν ταύτῃ] τῇ νυκτὶ κανδαλις[θήσας-]	28
	[θε, κατὰ] τὸ γραφέν· πατάξω τὸν [ποιμέ-]	28
	[να καὶ τὰ] πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσ[εται, εἰ-]	33
5	[πόντος το]ῦ Πέτ(ρου) καὶ εἰ πάντες, ο[ὗκ ἐγὼ· λέ-]	31
	[γει Ἰη(σοῦς)· πρὶ]ν ἀλεκτρῶν δις κοκ[κύσει τρίς]	33
	[cὸ χῆμερόν με ἄ]παρν[ήρη]	

Apart from uncertain letters (with underdots) and the printing error (ll. 4–5 εἰπόντος and not εἶποντος)⁸⁸ there is one decisive change in this reconstruction in contrast to that in my study above: ll. 5–6 now read λέγει Ἰη(σοῦς)· πρὶ]ν. With λε at the end of l. 5 a similar line ending is achieved more properly than before. Besides, the scene requires an explicit change of speaker previous to what this speaker actually says. If ο is assumed for the first letter of l. 6 on the papyrus (instead of ν) the reconstruction as λέγει Ἰη(σοῦς)· πρὶν] ὃ or λέγει κύριος·] ὃ appears

⁸⁷ Förster, ‘Apokryphen’, no. 13 (p. 15), reads ν.

⁸⁸ Additionally, see the slight alteration in ll. 4–5 breaking ποιμέ | να, as wide μ and ε can fill the line together with the other three letters and να can fit in pretty well at the beginning of l. 5 together with καὶ τὰ (no letter wider than the average).

to be possible as well, just to mention a few alternative reconstructions (for instance, εἶπεν instead of λέγει).⁸⁹ I regard these possibilities as equally plausible. Another alternative reconstruction is offered by Gustav Bickell and accordingly by Hans Förster for ll. 6–7 with κοκ[κύξει, καὶ cὺ ἢ πρῶτον τρις ἄ], which would fit stichometrically as well.⁹⁰

In my original re-edition I did not offer a translation of my Greek reconstruction, a shortcoming I want to eliminate here:⁹¹

While going out⁹² as he said: ‘All of you will be ashamed of me this night, according to what is written: I will strike the shepherd and the sheep will be dispersed.’ Peter said: ‘If all, not I.’ Jesus said:⁹³ ‘Before the cock will have cried twice, you will deny me three times today.’

In a forthcoming volume with Greek papyri and parchment manuscripts of the New Testament kept in the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna Stanley E. and Wendy J. Porter will also edit and discuss *P.Vindob.G* 2325.⁹⁴

The catalogue of an exhibition in the *Bibelhaus am Museumsufer* in Frankfurt, Germany, published in 2006, contains a color photograph of *P.Vindob.G* 2325, some introductory remarks, and a German translation of the text preserved.⁹⁵

It is still a matter of discussion whether or not apocryphal witnesses (and the Apostolic Fathers) should be integrated into a critical apparatus of an edition of the New Testament. Surprisingly, the 26th edition of Nestle-Aland explicitly refers to the Fayûm-Gospel for Mark 14:28: following the quotation of Zech 13:7 the apparatus of NA²⁶ indicates that verse 28 (ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με προᾶξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν) is missing in the text of the Fayûm-Gospel (• 28 □ frag. fajjum). In the

⁸⁹ For other (more or less plausible) reconstructions see Lührmann, *Fragmente*, 81.

⁹⁰ Cf. Bickell, ‘Ein Papyrusfragment’, 499 and ‘Das nichtkanonische Evangelienfragment’, 54; Förster, ‘Apokryphen’, no. 13 (p. 15).

⁹¹ Cf. Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 67. Cf. the translation by Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 105: “...as he brought them out, he said, ‘You will all fall away this night as it is written, “I will strike the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered.”’ Peter said, ‘Even if all do so, I will not.’ Jesus said, ‘Before the rooster crows twice, you will deny me three times...’”

⁹² Or “While being led out”. The place implied here is the Mount of Olives (cf. Matt 14:26–28).

⁹³ Taking λέγει as a historical present to fit the *Genetivus absolutus* of ll. 4–5.

⁹⁴ Porter/Porter, *New Testament Greek Papyri* (forthcoming; scheduled for the end of 2007).

⁹⁵ Cf. Schefzyk, *Alles ECHT*, no. 60 (123). The German translation follows the reconstruction and readings by Wessely and Förster.

27th edition (NA²⁷) this reference has vanished, but it now calls *PEgerton* 2 as a witness for a variant reading at John 5:39. In his call for the integration of the Apostolic Fathers into the apparatus of today's critical editions of the New Testament, J. Keith Elliott⁹⁶ is right in citing these two examples of potential apocryphal Gospel fragments (and some inconsistencies in evaluating papyri from the Gregory-Aland list)⁹⁷ to demonstrate the partially random selection of witnesses for establishing an eclectic text and its critical apparatus.

Bibliography

- Aland, K., *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri. Vol. I: Biblische Papyri* (PTS 18; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976).
- , *Synopsis quattuor Evangeliorum* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ¹³1985).
- /Aland, B., *Der Text des Neuen Testaments. Einführung in die wissenschaftlichen Ausgaben sowie in Theorie und Praxis der modernen Textkritik* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ²1989).
- Avi-Yonah, M., *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions* (QDAPS to vol. 9; Jerusalem-London: Humphrey Milford, 1940; reprinted in: Oikonomides, Al. N., *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts and Early Printed Books* (Chicago: Ares Publ., 1974).
- Berger, K./Nord, C., *Das Neue Testament und frühchristliche Schriften* (Frankfurt a.M./Leipzig: Insel, 1999).
- Bernhard, A., *Other Early Christian Gospels: A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts* (London-New York: T&T Clark, 2006).
- Bertrand, D.A., 'Fragment du Fayoum', in: F. Bovon/P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens I* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1997) 421–3.
- Bickell, G., 'Bemerkungen zu obiger Abhandlung', *ζKTh* 11 (1887) 516.
- , 'Das nichtkanonische Evangelienfragment', *MPER* 1 (1887) 53–61.
- , 'Ein letztes Wort über das Papyrus-Evangelium', *MPER* 5 (1892) 78–82.
- , 'Ein Papyrusfragment eines nichtkanonischen Evangeliums', *ζKTh* 9 (1885) 498–504, 560; *ζKTh* 10 (1886) 208–209.
- , 'Zum Evangelienfragment Raineri', *MPER* 2–3 (1887) 41–2.
- Bonaccorsi, P.G., *Vangeli Apocrifi* (Firenze: Libreria Fiorentina, 1948).
- Choat, M., *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Studia Antiqua Australiensia [SAA] 1; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
- de Santos Otero, A., *Los Evangelios Apocrifos* (BAC 148; Madrid: BAC, ¹⁰1999).
- Dinkler, E., 'Älteste Christliche Denkmäler', in: P.C. Finney (ed.), *Art, Archaeology, and Architecture of Early Christianity* (Studies in Early Christianity 18; New York-Leiden: Garland, 1993).
- Dölger, F.J., *Das Fisch-Symbol in frühchristlicher Zeit. IXΘΥC als Kürzung der Namen Jesu* (Münster: Aschendorff, ²1928).

⁹⁶ See Elliot, 'Absent Witnesses?', 49–50. These are only some examples utilized by Elliot for his reasonable and compelling call for a modification of the (often overcrowded) critical apparatus in critical editions of the New Testament (see 47–58).

⁹⁷ Elliot ('Absent Witnesses?', 49–50) refers to most of the papyri I discussed briefly in chapter 2—'Parchment or Papyrus?': Some remarks about the significance of writing material when assessing manuscripts'.

- Dunand, F., *Papyrus Grecs Bibliques (Papyrus F. Inv. 266). Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome* (Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire 27; Le Caire: IFAO, 1966).
- Ehrman, B.D., 'The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity', in: idem/M.W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (StD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).
- Elliott, J.K., 'Absent Witnesses? The Critical Apparatus to the Greek New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers', in: A. Gregory/C. Tuckett (eds.), *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 47–58.
- , *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993 [Paperback ed. 2005]).
- Enste, S., *Kein Markustext in Qumran: Eine Untersuchung der These: Qumran-Fragment 7Q5 = Mk 6,52–53* (NTOA 45; Freiburg/Schweiz-Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).
- Finegan, J., *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus: an Introduction to the New Testament Apocrypha and to some of the areas through which they were transmitted, namely, Jewish, Egyptian, and Gnostic Christianity, together with the earlier Gospel-type records in the Apocrypha* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969).
- Förster, H., '7Q5—"Und was?"', *AnalPap* 14–15 (2002–2003) 197–208.
- , 'Apokryphen', in: J. Henner/H. Förster/U. Horak (eds.), *Christliches mit Feder und Faden. Christliches in Texten, Textilien und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten* (Nilus 3; Vienna: C.&E. Dworak, 1999) 11–16.
- , 'Heilige Namen in Heiligen Texten', *AW* 33 (2002) 321–4.
- Foster, P., 'Are there any Early Fragments of the So-called Gospel of Peter?', *NTS* 52 (2006) 1–28.
- Gamble, H.Y., *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- Geerard, M., *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).
- Hagedorn, D., 'Papyrologie', in: H.-G. Nesselrath, Hg., *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie, Einleitung in die Altertumskunde*, Stuttgart-Leipzig: Teubner, 1997) 62–70.
- Harnack, A., 'Das Evangelienfragment von Fajjūm', in: A. Resch, *Agrapha: Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente* (TU 5.4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1889) 481–97.
- Hurtado, L.W., *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).
- , 'The New Testament in the Second Century: Text, Collections and Canon', in: J.W. Childers/D.C. Parker (eds.), *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (TaS 3.4; Piscataway/NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006) 3–27.
- , 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra: A Proposal', *JBL* 117 (1998) 655–73.
- Jankowski, S., 'I "nomina sacra" nei papiri dei LXX (secoli II e III d.C.)', *StudPap* 16 (1977) 81–116.
- Jaroš, K., 'Ein neues Fragment des Hebräerbriefes', *AW* 32 (2001) 271–3.
- , 'Review of Stefan Enste, *Kein Markustext*', *WZKM* 91 (2001) 378–84.
- Koester, H., *Ancient Christian Gospels. Their History and Development* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1990).
- Kraus, T.J., 'Ad fontes: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von *P.Vindob.G* 31974', *Bib.* 81 (2000) 1–16.
- , '(Il)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects of the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times', *Mn.* 53 (2000) 322–41.
- , '*P.Vindob.G* 2325: Einige Modifikationen von Transkription und Rekonstruktion', *ζΑC/ζΑC* 10 (2007; forthcoming).
- , "Slow writers"—βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?', *Ex.* 97 (1999) 86–97.

- /Nicklas, T. (eds.), *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (GCS.NF 11 = Neutestamentliche Apokryphen 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).
- Lührmann, D., *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien. Studien zu neuen Texten und neuen Fragen* (NT.S 112; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004).
- , 'Die Überlieferung des apokryph gewordenen Petrusevangeliums', in: T.J. Kraus/T. Nicklas (eds.), *Das Evangelium nach Petrus: Text, Kontexte, Intertexte* (TU; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, forthcoming 2007) 31–51 (expected pages).
- , *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (In cooperation with E. Schlarb; MThSt 59; Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2000).
- , 'Petrus als Evangelist—ein bemerkenswertes Ostrakon', *NT* 43 (2001) 348–67.
- , 'POx 2949: EvPt 3–5 in einer Handschrift des 2./3. Jahrhunderts', *ZNW* 72 (1981) 216–26.
- , 'POx 4009: Ein neues Fragment des Petrusevangeliums?', *NT* 35 (1993) 390–410.
- Metzger, B.M., *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, ³1992).
- Nicklas, T., 'Ein "neutestamentliches Apokryphon"? Zum umstrittenen Kanonbezug des sog. "Petrusevangeliums"', *VigChr* 56 (2002) 260–72.
- Nösgen, M., *ZNW* 5 (1885) 462–70.
- O'Callaghan, J., "'Nominum sacrorum" elenchus in Graecis Novi Testamenti papyris a saeculo IV ad VIII', *StudPap* 10 (1971) 99–122.
- , *"Nomina sacra" in papyris graecis saeculi III neotestamentariis* (AnBib 46; Rome: Biblical Inst. Press, 1970).
- Papathomas, A., 'A New Testimony to the Letter to the Hebrews', *JGRChJ* 1 (2000) 18–24.
- , 'A New Testimony to the Letter to the Hebrews', *Tyche* 16 (2001) 107–10.
- Pestman, P.W., *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden: Brill, ²1994).
- Peterson, W.L., 'Tatians Diatessaron', in: Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 403–30.
- Pöhlmann, E., *Einführung in die Überlieferungsgeschichte und in die Textkritik der antiken Literatur. Vol. 1: Altertum* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Porter, S.E., 'The Greek Apocryphal Gospels Papyri: The Need for a Critical Edition', in: *PapCongr.* XXI, 795–803.
- /Porter, W.J., *New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions* (Vienna: Austrian National Library; forthcoming).
- Resch, A., *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien. Bd. II: Paralleltexte zu Matthaeus und Marcus* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894).
- Römer, C., 'Christliche Texte V', *APF* 47 (2001) 368–76.
- Röwekamp, G., 'Art. Petrus-Literatur', in: *LACL*², 495–8.
- Rupprecht, H.A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Savi, P., 'Le fragment évangélique du Fayoum', *RB* 1 (1892) 321–44.
- Schefzyk, J. (ed.), *Alles ECHT. Älteste Belege zur Bibel aus Ägypten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006).
- Schneemelcher, W., 'Das sogenannte Fajjumfragment', *NTApoc*⁶ 1, 87.
- Schofield, E.M., *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament* (Unpubl. Diss.; Clinton/New Jersey, 1936).
- Schubart, W., 'Papyruskunde', in: A. Gercke/E. Norden (eds.), *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft I* (Leipzig-Berlin: Beck, ³1927) 9.32–43.
- , *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Handbücher der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin; Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, ²1921).
- , *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918).
- Tov, E., *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis-Assen: Fortress Press, 1992).
- Turner, E.G., 'Recto and Verso', *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–6.

- , *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Ed. by P.J. Parsons; BICS.S 46; London: Institute of Classical Studies, ²1987).
- , *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980).
- , 'The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll' (Pap.BruX. XIV = *PapCongr.* XV [1978]).
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série "Papyrologie" 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).
- Waddington, W.H., *Inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae de la Syrie. Recueillies et Expliquées* (Rome: "L'erma" di Bretschneider, 1968).
- Wessely, K., 'Ueber das Zeitalter des Wiener Evangelienpapyrus', *ŽkTh* 11 (1887) 507–15.
- , *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus* (PO 4.2; Paris 1906 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1985]).
- Wolters, A., 'The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll', *Textus* 18 (1995) 87–99.
- Youtie, H.C., 'Βροδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239–61 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 629–66).
- Zahn, T., *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons. Bd. 2* (Erlangen-Leipzig: Deichert, 1892).

CHAPTER SIX

P.Vindob.G 35835 (FORMER 26132A)—NOTES ON THE LAST JUDGMENT*

P.Vindob.G 35835¹

17 × 6.5 cm

6th century C.E.

Fayûm?

The papyrus fragment, formerly catalogued as *P.Vindob.G* 26132a² and previously exclusively dealt with by Peter Sanz in his unpublished dissertation from 1936,³ is broken at its top, bottom, and left side. On the side with the six variously long lines the right margin is between 0.9 and 2.2 cm wide. This page of the otherwise light brown papyrus is slightly darkened (medium brown), above all on a vertical strip of papyrus that is up to 6 cm wide. Further, the fragment is damaged by some small holes, a bigger oval one (with a maximum size of 0.5 × 0.8 cm; l. 4 about 6.5 cm from the left), and some splits that are up to more than 2 cm long (between lines 5 and 6). There is a vertical fold 6.5 cm from the left, which runs through the big oval hole. The writing, which is in black ink, partly faded and partly worn out, runs parallel to the fibers.

Remains of seven lines, parallel to the fibers are preserved on the other side of the fragment, i.e. the two texts can be read if the papyrus is rotated 90 degrees when turned over. There are no traces of gumming visible on either side. Nonetheless, the smoothness of the fibers on the side with the cursive text indicates the time relationship

* Originally published as ‘P.Vindob. G 35835 (vormals 26132a)—Notizen über das Endgericht?’, *ŽPE* 141 (2002) 149–54. Used by kind permission.

¹ I am indebted to Hermann Harrauer, Hans Förster (both Vienna), and Dieter Hagedorn (Heidelberg) for significant advice and kind help.

² The papyrus was given another catalogue number by Herbert Hunger in the years between 1956 and 1962, because the suggestion once made due to formal criteria while cataloguing that *P.Vindob.G* 35835 (26132a) and 26132 (former 26132b) belong together proved wrong on the grounds of palaeographical observations. Thanks to Hans Förster (Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library) for providing these pieces of information.

³ Cf. Sanz, *Christliche Papyri*, no. 10 (p. 90). Nevertheless, the old catalogue number was used by van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 1185 and by the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB; <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be>; last access 29/07/2006).

between the two different types of writing. Thus, it becomes obvious that, being of better quality, this side of the papyrus has been written earlier and is to be referred to as recto, consequently the other side with the literary text as verso.⁴

recto

→ 1]...[
] . ετρος[
] . ελα[
] κυρω άπρ[
 5] . ουδὲ προ[
] . να τοῦ δεπ[
] [

verso

→ 1] . ομου κ(αί) νόμον κ(αί) φύσιν
] . γάρ δίδωσι τοὺς μισοῦντας
] ος τὰ δικαστήρια συνεκρότησεν
] ων δικαιώσεται· ἀλλ' οὐκ ὁ κ(ύριος)ς ἡμῶν
 5] . α δὲ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἔλκων κ(αί) φύσιν κ(αί)
] . ιοτήτα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ γένος χειραγωγεῖ

l. 1 papyrus has κς for καί; l. 4 papyrus with κς; a raised dot follows δικαιώσεται; papyrus with οὐκ, read οὐχ; l. 5 papyrus with κς for καί.

The hand on the recto is a strikingly large Byzantine cursive, written dynamically and clearly sloping to the right. It can be compared to *BGU I 255* (599 C.E.).⁵ Because of the torn off vertical fibers, it is hard to trace the genre of the text. Nevertheless, what is preserved may be the remnants of a letter or some kind of a document. Only the tiny remains of two letters are preserved of the first line and the last line is

⁴ Here my description of this side of the papyrus and the time relationship between the cursive and the literary text are dependent on information provided by Hermann Harrauer, who additionally sent me a transcription of the recto, which helped to improve my own.

⁵ Cf. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* I.1, no. 58, together with the palaeographical description by Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 92–4. See further, even if its hand is less similar to *P.Vindob.G* 35835r than *BGU I 255*, the elegant and large cursive of *P.Monac.* 9 (= *P.Münch.* I 9; May 30, 585; cf. the alphabet table provided by Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, 60–3).



G 35.835 (R/V)

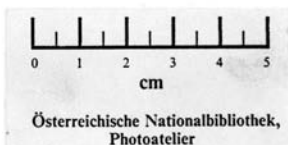


Fig. 3: *P.Vindob.G* 35835 (recto)



G 35.835 (R/V)

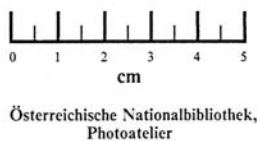


Fig. 4: *P.Vindob.G* 35835 (verso)

almost completely worn away. However, the bottom margin is extant (as well as the right margin of the literary text on the other side). There are no diacritical signs on the fragment.

The verso shows a regular hand sloping to the right. The formation of the letters is secure and only the vertical strokes of γ, ρ, τ, φ and the diagonal of χ, reaching from bottom left to high right, protrude above or below the exact straight lines. In principle the letters are given similar space with the exception of the slightly wider δ, μ, φ, χ, and ω. The narrow oval o and analogously formed round ε and c are slender and somewhat rectangular. The linking line between the two legs of η is not written horizontally, but corresponds to a diagonal line reaching from bottom left to high right. The letters are written individually, so that they are not connected with the adjoining letters. The only exceptional letters are the two ligatures διδω (l. 2) and that of τ with following vocal, which then is formed slightly smaller and is attached to the upper line of the ruling or to the horizontal line of τ (so l. 2 τα; l. 3 τη in συνεκρότηεν; l. 4 τα; l. 5 το; l. 6 το; but written in the usual size of all the other letters l. 2 το; l. 3 τα, τη in δικακτηρία; l. 6 τα).

Otherwise there is a high dot in l. 4 of this side of the papyrus, an apostrophe in the same line (ἀλλ'οὐκ), and four times the abbreviation κς for καί (ll. 1 and 5). Together with the vocabulary, the short form κς for κύριος, known in the relevant literature under the *terminus technicus* as *nomen sacrum*,⁶ points to a Christian background.

The hand of *PVindob.G* 35835v can be compared with *PVindob.G* 25949 (middle of VI),⁷ *PVindob.G* 26132 (VI),⁸ and *PCair.Masp.* 67055v (ca. 550–570).⁹ Thus, the papyrus can be dated to the sixth century,

⁶ For the most relevant literature see Hurtado, 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra', 655–73.

⁷ Psalm 1:1–3 with a preceding line in Coptic is written parallel with the fibers on the verso. The recto (also parallel with the fibers) and the upper part of the verso (against the fibers) preserve a list of payments written in another hand. Cf. Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, no. 31b.

⁸ The recto has nine lines from John Chrysostom's *hom. 29.2 in Ioannem* (PG 59,169), the verso sixteen lines of an unidentified text. Cf. Sanz, *Christliche Papyri* (Diss.), no. 5 and MPER N.S. IV 54; Aland/Rosenbaum, *Repertorium* II, KV 50; Förster, '28. Johannes Chrysostomus', 35. Peter Sanz emphasized the similarities between the hands of *PVindob.G* 26132 (former 26132b) and 35835 (former 26132a). In principle and on the whole, Sanz's observations can be confirmed despite some specific differences between the two hands.

⁹ Thirty hexameters of praise (Dioscurus, *Encomium*) are written parallel with the fibers of the verso; the recto has two columns filled with accounts. Cf. Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, no. 31a. The hand of *PCair.Masp.* 67055v, however, wrote the text visibly

possibly to its last third because of the older hand on the recto. This is also supported by the short form κ_{ς} ($\kappa + \varsigma$ for $-\alpha$), though its usage must not be overrated as a clue to dating a papyrus.¹⁰

Palaeographical line-by-line commentary

Verso:

- l. 1 Remains of two letters at the beginning of the line, those of the first do not allow any identification, those of the second suggest the bottom third part of a c or perhaps of an ϵ . Sanz only read the second as a doubtful c . It is possible to regard the remains as belonging to a single letter, but v , which is obligatory for completing $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$, cannot be brought into line with the second part of the remains. Its right leg would be similar to the lower part of a narrow and angular c or would have a small hook and would be totally different from the other v preserved on the verso.
- l. 2 Before $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ there is the bottom third of the curve of a letter cut off due to damage: possible are o , θ , but also c , ϵ , or ω . The curve, however, seems to be too wide for c and ϵ (which are more pointed on the papyrus than the rest preserved), which is true for o , too, when compared with the actual letters. The curve can be reconciled with ω (lower part of the right half) and θ , though the position as the final letter of the word preceding $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ speaks against a reading of the latter.¹¹ Although there is no diagonal stroke downwards necessary for an α , the reading of α appears to be possible as this diagonal stroke could have been rubbed off (cf. the missing horizontal line of the τ belonging to the article).

faster than that of *P.Vindob.G* 35835v, which can be seen when looking carefully at the letters sloping more to the right and leaning against each other.

¹⁰ Cf. the information provided by McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, 117; Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, 74. Relevant examples are: *PCair.* 10735v. 3 (= *PCair.Cat.* 10735; VI/VII) and the papyri kept in Vienna, *P.Vindob.G* 41043 ll. 1, 4, 6 (VI; *MPER* N.S. XVII 36 and plate 21); 26222 fragment 1, l. 5; fragment 2, l. 3; fragment 6, l. 3 (VI; ; Sanz, *Christliche Papyri* [Diss.], no. 8; *MPER* N.S. XVII 35 and plate 22); 19921r l. 3 (VI; *MPER* N.S. XVII 67 and plate 51); 26166r l. 5 (V/VI; *MPER* N.S. IV 11; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 160). Younger, however, are, for instance, *P.Vindob.G* 19915 ll. 2, 5, 7, 13 (*MPER* N.S. XVII 57 and plate 41) or 26117 ll. 7, 10, 12 (*MPER* N.S. XVII 68 and plate 46) from the 7th/8th century.

¹¹ Cf. Gradenwith, *Heidelberger Konträr-Index*; Kretschmer/Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*; Kissler, *Ergänzungen zu Kretschmer/Locker*; Bauer/Felber, *A Reverse Index*. The remains of the letter and $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ cannot be reconstructed as $\tau\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$.

1. 3 The letter worn off and faded preceding ς at the left margin of the fragment suggests an \omicron with a dot of ink under the microscope, which would have been created while finishing the left curve of \omicron performed in two movements. Sanz reads $\omicron\varsigma$, too, and suggests the reconstruction $\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\nu\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma\tau\alpha$. The visible gap between $\omicron\varsigma$ and $\tau\alpha$ fits well, because here and there the scribe seems to use such gaps to set two words apart from each other (cf. l. 3 between $\iota\omicron\nu$ and $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, l. 6 before $\tau\acute{o}$; because of the stop in l. 4 before $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$, and with a potential apostrophe between $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda$ and $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$). The end- ν of $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma\epsilon\nu$ can be clearly identified with the help of the remains of the left and the somewhat smaller right leg.
1. 4 The shape of a δ (of $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$) becomes visible with the help of a microscope, but only faintly its horizontal stroke—the papyrus is damaged here by a hole at the beginning of $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$. Only the right leg of an η that fits well to complete $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ is left (oval hole of max. 0.5×0.8 cm). The obvious gap between $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda$ and $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ is even evident on the photograph; the apostrophe present there can be seen on the original with the help of a microscope. Of course, the construction might have been completed by a preposition, as Sanz suggests (then $\delta\iota'\iota\omega\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$). But also possible is to take for granted that the papyrus was originally wider than it is now. Furthermore, there is the difficulty of reconstructing sensibly the beginning of l. 5 with one exceptionally broad letter or two usually broad letters.
1. 5 Sanz reads $\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\delta(\iota)\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$. A close examination of the papyrus leads to another reading. The potential ϕ looks totally different from those in the same line and in l. 1; it is rather similar to ρ (cf. ll. 2, 3, and 5). The preceding remains—the damage to the papyrus makes reading difficult (a hole above and below the line; loss of fibers in the line)—can belong to the right leg of a π . The first letter of Sanz's $\acute{\alpha}\delta(\iota)\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ is incomplete, but the slender and angular curve points at ϵ or ς , whereas for plausible $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omega\nu$ an ϵ is preferable. The beginning of the line and the width of the page are matters of speculations only (see above, comments on l. 5). It is plausible to reconstruct $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ in order to supply an additional element to the phrase.

The word combination $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ can be traced in Gregory of Nyssa *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium* 144.14–15 (*Gregory Nysseni Opera* 3.1)— $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$

πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἔλκειν τὰ θεῖα λόγια—and John Philoponus, *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum* 125.15–16—πάντα ἄνω καὶ κάτω κυκῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦν τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἔλκοντες. Nevertheless, the preserved text of the verso and the two contexts of the reference texts differ from each other, so that no closer relationship between the papyrus text and any of the reference texts can be established.

1. 6 The letter η, which is marked as doubtful in]ιοτήτα, seems to be probable because of its left leg and a comparison with that of the η in the ligature τη in l. 3, which itself can be applied to η in τῆς (due to a left and a right leg). The middle stroke and the left half of a horizontal stroke help to identify τ before α in]ιοτήτα. Letter τ in ἀρετῆς is almost completely worn out (see the small hole beneath it on the folding), but a faint vertical middle line is visible.
1. 7 Cautiously Sanz suggested the reconstruction]ιοτητα as ἀγ]ιότητα.¹² There are several possibilities to complete the preserved sequence of letters. Of these possibilities some fit more and others less sensibly and plausibly the fragmentary context on the verso.¹³ The words present on the papyrus (νόμος, φύσις, μισέω, δικαστήρια, συγκροτέω, δικαιώω) as well as the last line with ἀρετή, γένος and χειραγωγέω point to a preference of ἀγιότης, θειότης, ὁσιότης, μεγαλειότης, and τελειότης among the potential alternatives, while the first three fit well the assumption of similar line beginnings at the left margin, as already discussed for ll. 3–5. Nonetheless, the papyrus could have been wider than the attempts at reconstructing it, because especially ll. 4–6 cannot easily be reconstructed by means of a few letters to assemble the missing part of the papyrus and the lines at the left margin (see above on l. 4).

¹² Sanz, *Christliche Papyri* (Diss.), no. 10 (p. 90): “Ob die Ergänzung [αγ]ιοτητα in Z. 6 richtig ist, ist sehr zweifelhaft.”

¹³ These are ἀγιότης, ἀγριότης, αἰδιότης, ἀλλοτριότης, ἀχρειότης, βιότης, γενναιότης, δολιότης, ἡπιότης, θειότης, ιδιότης, καθαριότης, κραταιότης, κυριότης, μακαριότης, ματαιότης, μεγαλειότης, μυριότης, νηπιότης, ὁμοιότης, ὁσιότης, παλαιότης, πιότης, σκολιότης, τελειότης, τιμιότης, ὥραιότης, all of them the result of a cross check with the help of the relevant printed tools and the software versions of TLG, BibleWorks for Windows 3.5, and Accordance 4.1.

Remarks on content and purpose of the verso

In order to show the differences clearly Sanz's suggestions to reconstruct the text are given (cf. above to ll. 3 and 4). Nonetheless, the general tendency is preserved even without taking them into account: [καὶ αὐτῷ] ὁ δὲ δικαστὴρ συνεκρότηεν | [δι'] ὧν δικαιώηται. The termini point to a legal background as the underlying general tendency of the text. Thus, this makes the meaning "to assemble" or "to bring together" for συγκροτέω probable. The grammatical subject of the sentence actively "assembles the judges" or "the court"; but it stands for the person who "dispenses justice" (conjunctive aorist of δικαιόω) or who lets someone dispense justice if [δι'] ὧν is understood as preposition followed by a *relativum*¹⁴ ("by [means of] whom he dispenses justice"). Lines 4 to 6 enable us to get to know more about the court: even if the lost beginnings of the lines on the verso are not reconstructed, it appears as if the Lord (κ̅ς) will carry out what is to be following next (cf. the future form of χειραγωγέω). Additionally, χειραγωγέω¹⁵ indicates that there is somebody who receives assistance, because this person or this group "is led by the hand".¹⁶ When νόμος, ἀρετή, and μῦθος are considered as well, the whole text might have to do with the Last Judgment,¹⁷ but thematically and in a broader sense it can also be part of an apocalyptic context.¹⁸

My starting assumption that *PVindob.G 35835v* might have preserved an excerpt from a homily by John Chrysostom or a homily pseudographically written under his name could not be verified. Further, the purpose of the text on the verso is not equally as evident as the

¹⁴ On δι' ὧν see Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort*, 95–7.

¹⁵ Cf. the relevant lexis and, above all, Lohse, 'Art. χειραγωγέω, χειραγωγός', 424; Spicq, *Notes de Lexicographie néo-testamentaire* II, 967; word search in the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyrus* (DDBDP) of the *Perseus Project* (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html>; last access 19/08/2006).

¹⁶ This can happen due to (literal or figurative) blindness (Samson in LXX Judg 16.26 Codex Alexandrinus and Josephus *Ant.* 5.315; Tobit in Tob 11.16 Codex Sinaiticus; Paul in Acts 9.8; 22.11; further see Appian *Bell. civ.* 2.60 §248), inexperience (*UPZ* I 110.54–55; *CPJ* I 141.5 = *SB* VI 9564; *BGU* VIII 1843.11), or just to heavenly assistance, as can be seen in the *Gospel of Peter* (10.40), where the resurrected Christ, leaning on two angels, is led out of the tomb.

¹⁷ As suggested by Sanz (*Christliche Papyri* [Diss.], no. 10 [p. 90], and accepted by van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 1185).

¹⁸ Cf. Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort*, esp. 358–60, 379–82, 390–6, and with more details (and with corrections) idem, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse', 73–98.

purpose of *PVindob.G* 26132 (a private copy or concept for a homily on John the Baptist).¹⁹ Nevertheless, the hand of *PVindob.G* 35835v (which is similar to that of *PVindob.G* 26132, also as far as speed of writing is concerned) and its fragmentary content may refer to just such a purpose. This view is supported by the reuse of the piece of papyrus, after the beautiful cursive hand has been written upon the more smoothed side of the recto.

Addenda

Originally I had prepared a line-by-line commentary on the recto, too. This, however, was not published, because in my re-edition of *PVindob.G* 35835 I primarily focus on the text of the verso. For whatever it is worth I reprint the comments on the recto here:

Palaeographical line-by-line commentary

Recto:

- l. 1 Only faint traces of two letters left, so far apart from each other that in between them there might have been a third letter, which is not preserved and would have been on the lost piece of papyrus.
- l. 3 Remains of two letters followed by ελ and a curve that could belong to α or to c or o.
- l. 4 The loss of horizontal fibers makes reading difficult, above all of the first two letters. The following sequence ρωαπρ is clearly visible. The remains at the left margin of the papyrus may be read as κν; but I want to leave that open to discussion.²⁰ Then

¹⁹ Cf. Sanz, in: MPER N.S. IV 54, pp. 124–6 (as in *Christliche Papyri* [Diss.], no. 5 [pp. 74–5]). The texts on both pages of the papyrus are written parallel with the fibers. Thus, the papyrus is a free-standing (single) leaf, “da die Schrift des Verso im Vergleiche zum Recto auf dem Kopfe steht” (125).

²⁰ Hermann Harrauer’s transcription, sent to me via email on 17/04/2002, reads κν. Here and for Ινα in l. 6 I simply accept his reading. Due to lack of experience with such cursive hands I am incapable of verifying (or falsifying) the reading on the photograph.

we would have $\kappa\upsilon\rho\omega$, which could possibly be a dative and part of a name ($-\kappa\upsilon\rho\omega$)²¹ or an expression of respect ($\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$).²²

1. 5 Only fragments of the first letter are preserved, and the line is damaged by the loss of horizontal fibers, so that the upper parts of the letters not protruding the line are lost. The transition to δ helps to identify a preceding υ (cf. the sequence $\sigma\delta$ in l. 6).
1. 6 Only sparse remains are left of the beginning of the line; possibly these are the remnants of υ and α . The remains of a letter at the right edge of the papyrus could belong to a π if compared with π in ll. 4 and 5. But η seems to be equally possibly and plausible.

Unfortunately, I still cannot say anything more about the recto of *P.Vindob.G* 35835 and do not know of any other work on this potential letter or document.

For a better understanding of $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, see as well the noun $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, such as in Acts 13.11 (the magician Elymas is temporarily blinded and needs someone who is leading him by the hand), the *Corpus Hermeticum* 7.2 (led by a helping hand to ‘Gnosis’ gate), and Maximus Tyrius 8.7h (of God).²³

The verso, however, has become the subject of the section about Christian literary texts that is regularly published in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.²⁴ Among many other Christian fragments edited or re-edited in the years 2002 to 2004, and after briefly mentioning the recto, Cornelia Römer discusses *P.Vindob.G* 35835v. She describes the hand as follows: “Die Schrift ist eine nach rechts geneigte, um Bilinearität bemühte Buchhand nicht ohne Eleganz” (‘the writing is a bookhand not without elegance sloping to the right and endeavouring to be bilinear’). That fits my own description. But according to her the register

²¹ Cf., for instance, the names ending with $-\kappa\upsilon\rho\varsigma$ under the entry $-\upsilon\rho\varsigma$ in Dornseiff/Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*, 283.

²² The search for $\kappa\upsilon\rho\omega$ in the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyrus* (DDBDP; <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html>; last access 19/08/2006) offers many references for such a usage. See further the comments on *P.Genova* I 50.4 (with reference to 25.1) about the usage of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$ (for $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omega$) and the naming of consuls in *P.Rain. Cent.* 94.1 ($\Phi\lambda\alpha\sigma\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\iota\omega\upsilon\ \acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$) and *SB* XIV 11434.1 with *BL IX* 274 ($\Phi\lambda\alpha\sigma\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\iota\omega\upsilon\ \acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$).

²³ Further references in the classical literature can be found in the usual standard lexica, encyclopaediae, dictionaries, and reference books.

²⁴ Cf. Römer, ‘Christliche Texte VII’, 281.

of the language and the hand make more probable that the verso is a treatise of the highest level dealing with the relationship between human and divine jurisdiction rather than just notes for a homily, as I suggested. The mention of νόμος and φύσις, probably in opposition to each other, and the *terminus technicus* for summoning courts (συνκροτέω) should indicate that.

Without doubt this sounds plausible and could be correct. However, there is not much text preserved to form a context to prove that. The abstract terms used on the verso can be interpreted in different ways, literally or against a complex philosophical background; and the legal terminology is popular among Christian writers (see, for instance, Phlm 19 and my study ‘An Obligation from Contract Law in Philemon 19. Characteristic Style and Juridical Background’²⁵ in this volume). I also pointed out that my first assumption was that the text of the verso might have been an excerpt or part of a work by John Chrysostom, who used abstract terms and wrote in a complex style even in his homilies, which were very demanding at times for his listeners. Thus, the qualification of the fragmentary text as “eine Abhandlung auf höchstem Niveau” (‘a treatise on the highest level’) seems to be too exclusive and too optimistic.²⁶ With this in mind and despite the high quality of the hand, the two suggestions seem to be equally sound, i.e. *P.Vindob.G* 35835v may have preserved either parts of a Christian treatise on jurisdiction or notes for a homily; but, as I delineate above in my article in this *addendum* I still favor the latter.

Bibliography

- Aland, K./Rosenbaum, H.-U. (eds.), *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri II: Kirchenwäter-Papyri* (PTS 42; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995).
 Avi-Yonah, M., *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions* (QDAPS to vol. 9; Jerusalem-London: Humphrey Milford, 1940; reprinted in: Oikonomides, Al. N., *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts and Early Printed Books* [Chicago: Ares Publ., 1974]).
 Bauer, J.B./Felber, A., *A Reverse Index of Patristic Greek* (Graz: Theologische Studien 8; Graz: ‘Eigenverlag’, 1983).
 Cavallo, G./Maehler, H., *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800* (BICS.S 47; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987).

²⁵ Kraus, ‘Eine vertragsrechtliche Verpflichtung in Phlm 19’, 187–200. See also chapter 12 ‘An Obligation from Contract Law in Philemon 19. Characteristic Style and Juridical Background’.

²⁶ Besides, the reuse of the papyrus may play a significant role as well.

- Dornseiff, F./Hansen, B., *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig 102.4; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).
- Förster, H., '28. Johannes Chrysostomus', in: Henner, J./Förster, H./Horak, U., *Christliches mit Feder und Faden. Christliches in Texten, Textilien und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten* (Nilus 3; Wien: Österreichische Verlagsgesellschaft C. & E. Dworak, 1999) no. 28 (p. 35).
- Gradenwitz, O., *Heidelberger Konträr-Index der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1931).
- Gregory Nissen Opera Vol. 3.1 (ed. F. Müller; Leiden: Brill, 1958).
- Hurtado, L.W., 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra: A Proposal', *JBL* 117 (1998) 655–73.
- Johannes Philoponus, *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum* (Ed. H. Rabe; Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1889 [repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963]).
- Kisser, G., *Ergänzungen zu Kretschmer/Locker, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1963).
- Kraus, T.J., 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe', *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 73–98.
- , 'Eine vertragsrechtliche Verpflichtung in Phlm 19. Duktus and juristischer Hintergrund', in: Frühwald-König, J./Prostmeier, F.R./Zwick, R. (eds.), *Steht nicht geschrieben? Studien zur Bibel und ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte* (Festschrift für Georg Schmuttermayr; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2001) 187–200.
- , *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (WUNT 2.136; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).
- Kretschmer, P./Locker, E., *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ³1977).
- Lohse, E., 'Art. χειραγωγέω, χειραγωγός', *ThWNT* 9 (1973) 424.
- McNamee, K., *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri und Ostraca* (BASP Sup. 3; Chico/California: Scholars Press, 1981).
- Mirecki, P., 'Review of T. Teeter, *PCol. XI*', *BASP* 38 (2001) 135–45.
- Pestman, P.W., *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, ²1994).
- Römer, C., 'Christliche Texte VII', *APF* 50 (2004) 275–83.
- Sanz, P., *Christliche Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek zu Wien* (Dissertation; Vienna: Unpubl., 1936).
- Schubart, W., *Griechische Palaeographie* (HAW I.4.1; Munich: Beck, 1925).
- Seider, R., *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*. Bd. I.1 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1967).
- Spicq, C., *Notes de Lexicographie néo-testamentaire. Tome II* (OBO 22.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978).
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).

CHAPTER SEVEN

(II)LITERACY IN NON-LITERARY PAPYRI FROM GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT: FURTHER ASPECTS TO THE EDUCATIONAL IDEAL IN ANCIENT LITERARY SOURCES AND MODERN TIMES*

In ancient Athens literacy was held in high esteem and, thus, schools were meant to provide the ability of reading and writing as a prerequisite for philosophy and rhetoric. But that is only one feature of the educational ideal in antiquity. Of course, there was more to education than simply the ability to read and write. Greek philosophers saw very early that there must be a supplementary force to the plain rearing of a child: the τροφή. Aristophanes in one of his preserved comedies (*Nu.* 961) and Plato (*Phdr.* 107 d; *Lg.* 788 a; 804 d) regard the παιδεία, the education of a human being during its childhood, as the more decisive factor for turning a child into an estimable member of society. From someone who is destined to be a real citizen with rights and duties this membership then requires that he can write and read properly (*Pl. Lg.* 809 e). Even if learning is not a pleasure for a child, the ability of reading and writing are indispensable musts for its future role within society.¹ Aristotle emphasises the necessity of reading and writing as an obligatory element within the broad concept of παιδεία, too (*Pol.* 7.17.1–15). Moreover, according to Isocrates, it is not birth which makes someone a Greek but παίδευσις, a specific Greek education (*Paneg.* 51) and with this the knowledge of (Greek) ‘letters’, γράμματα, is inseparably connected.²

* Originally published as ‘“(II)Literacy in Non-literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects to the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times”, *Mn.* 53 (2000) 322–42. Used with kind permission.

¹ *Pl. Lg.* 810 a–b: Γράμματα μὲν τοίνυν χρή τὸ μέχρι τοῦ γράψαι τε καὶ ἀναγνῶναι δυνατόν εἶναι διαπονεῖν... The speed and beauty of writing is not a matter of major interest to Plato: πρὸς τάχος δὲ ἢ κάλλος ἀπηκριβῶσθαι τισιν οἷς μὴ φύσις ἐπέσπευσεν... χαίρειν ἔαν. Plato’s concept of παιδεία includes that a young boy does rather belong to the state than to his parents (*Lg.* 804 d), and, therefore, he must be ‘educated’ in a specific way.

² Many details of the Greek παιδεία are presented by Jaeger, *Paideia, die Formung des griechischen Menschen*.

The Romans had no difficulty in applying the ideal of *παιδεία* to their society. The education of a child had to consist of two different fields: (a) the education at home, and (b) that at a more public place, in a school (Quint. *Inst.* 1.2). The knowledge of Latin and even Greek qualified a person in a certain way (*Inst.* 1.4.1; Suet. *Aug.* 84–89).³ A specific education raised the Roman above the barbarian, i.e. the non-Roman, and together with being born into a family of reputation it enabled someone to lay hands on prominent positions within society. Consequently, literacy was not only held in high esteem, it was part of the education of human beings in order to turn them into noble beings, at least as far as virtue and character are concerned.

Of course, such a picture of ancient times presents ideals and stereotypes, which in reality might not have been realised on a broader scale.⁴ But nevertheless, in terms of social status literacy and illiteracy might have been the dividing line between the well-off and the disadvantaged, or in other words, between the upper and lower class, at least as far as the ancient urban society is concerned. Ἀρχὴ μεγίστη τοῦ φρονεῖν τὰ γράμματα. ‘The greatest foundation of thought are the letters’.⁵ Menander’s γνώμη μονόστιχος, a wise sentence in one verse, may count for “... a general expectation that the ordinary citizen could read and write”.⁶ Or expressed the other way round: those being illiterate, the ἀγράμματοι, were regarded as uneducated, uncultured, even boorish, and, thus, they were looked down upon by the other

³ The picture of Augustus given by Suetonius presents a well-educated nobleman, who besides his qualities as a statesman is able to write prose in an elegant and at the same time plain style. Similar is the image given of Domitian (Suet., *Domit.* 4). See as well Aristid. 35.9.20, where Marcus Aurelius is called a Greek philosopher and Antonius Pius given the name Φιλέλλην. All these instances show that learning Greek, i.e. reading and writing, had a high social ranking in Roman times.

⁴ Cf. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 273; Goody/Watt, ‘The Consequences of Literacy’, 27–68; Harvey, ‘Literacy in the Athenian Democracy’, 585–635. Harvey warns against the assumption of an idealised literate society in ancient Athens. With emphasis he stresses that only the rich could afford better education whereas the poor learnt only elements if at all (589).

⁵ This and all the other quotations are translated by the author. The Greek in: Jaekel, *Menandri Sententiae*, 5 (II,1), 16 (XIII,1–2). See also 18–19 (XIV,8) with a similar verse: Ἀρχὴ καλῶν τῶν ἐν βίῳ τὰ γράμματα. ‘The foundation of all good/nice things in life is the letters.’ Here as throughout the article the editorial signs and brackets for doubtful letters or reconstructions are left out for reasons of better legibility. Those who wish to see if a reading is doubtful or lacunae are filled are requested to look up the quoted document in the appropriate *editio princeps*.

⁶ Turner, ‘Village Administration in the Roman Empire’, 33.

urban citizens, even mocked as caricatured in Euripides' *Theseus* and by Agatho, Theodectes, and Sophocles.⁷

Modern people seem to share a notion with the Greeks and Romans, or to be more specific, the literate Greeks and Romans: the first hold, the latter held literacy in very high esteem. Then and now illiteracy has been despised as a manifestation of barbarism. When thinking of literacy today most people in the industrialized world would assume the ability to read and write as something natural and common, but definitely not as anything extraordinary. Literacy is regarded as a pre-requisite for finding one's professional way and for making one's living. In contrast to that, people would refer the opposite term illiteracy or being illiterate to someone who is excluded from social, cultural, and political life as well as from white-collar professions. Somehow, an illiterate may be seen as someone outside society lacking social status at all. Furthermore, being illiterate is not only defined as being unable to read and write, but also carries the idea of being uneducated, uncultured, and disgraceful. People who do not know how to read and write are automatically stamped with the stigma of belonging to a lower social class and of not participating in the everyday routines of the literates.⁸

So, if we are dealing with the same phenomenon, i.e. illiteracy, somewhere else in the ancient world, why should we not transfer the aforesaid about ancient and modern times to that place, let us say Graeco-Roman Egypt? This would be an easy way out of the numerous non-literary papyri from the many archaeological sites in Egypt. A powerful bureaucracy brought forth a vast amount of contracts, petitions, declarations, receipts, complaints, registers, to mention only a few categories. These reveal an intensively organised administration and many of the documents manifest that at least one side in a contractual proceeding has been illiterate.⁹ Do these mentions imply that

⁷ Cf. E., fr. 282 (Nauck²); Ath. 10.454 b–c about Euripides, d–f (Gulick): The three of them depict an ἀγράμματος in such a way that their audiences must have jeered at him. We must rely on the way Athenaeus of Naucratis tells us about Agatho's and Theodectes's depiction of a scene very similar to that of Euripides, in which an illiterate described the shape of the letters of the name ΘΗΣΕΥΣ. Of Sophocles's satirical play *Amphiaraus* he knows that someone even danced the form of the letters.

⁸ See on that: Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 1; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 5; Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 170 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 614–5).

⁹ For a more extensive list of the once used declaration types, see Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 140; Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 162 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 616–7). Further information on the administration in ancient Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman

someone is completely illiterate no matter what language we may think of? Relying on the data of the papyri can we make any reliable statements about the extent of illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt? Did the condition of being illiterate have anything to do with a specific social class? And why were those who did not know how to read and write called illiterates in specific formulae, which distinguished them from those who were literate or semi-literate?

To start with the last question, the formulae used for a distinction of the illiterates from others may be categorised into three types, each with quite a few variants:¹⁰

- A) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα / γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης
—‘I wrote for him who does not know letters’.¹¹
- B) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου (ὄντος)
—‘I wrote for him who is illiterate’.¹²

periods is offered in Van’t Dack, *Recherches sur les institutions*, 5–38; Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*; Rostovtzeff, *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World*; Rupperecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 43–93; Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology*, 67–76.

¹⁰ Cf. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 69–73; Calderini, ‘Gli ἀγράμματοι’, 14–41; Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, 124–6; Montevicchi, *La papirologia*, 399–400.

¹¹ The witnesses for the different formulae and their variants are too numerous to be quoted here *in extenso*. That is why only those are given to each formula which were looked through explicitly in order to give an impression of how many different non-literary papyri from different places and in different collections depict the accompanying formula. For further references see *supra* note 9. The focus here will lie on the Graeco-Roman period (the Ptolemaic documents excluded). See on illiteracy in Byzantine Egypt for further references Wipszycka, ‘Le degré d’alphabétisation en Égypte byzantine’, 279–96. Besides the abbreviation of the manuscript or collection, the citation gives as well the date when the document was written. Roman letters in square brackets indicate the century, Arabic numerals the year of origin, whereas all dates are C.E. except where stated otherwise. For the ‘not knowing letters’ formula see, for instance: *SB* I 5117 [55]; *PMich.* IX 554 [51–96]; *PRyl.* II 156 [I]; *PRein.* I 43 [102]; *PLond.* II 308 [146]; *PLeit.* 4 (= *SB* VIII 10195) [c. 161]; *POxy.* XVII 2134 [c. 170]; *PKöln* V 229 [178]; *SB* III 10 [195/6]; *PTebt.* II 399 [II]; *POxy.* XII 1463 [215]; *PMil.* II 52 (= *PMed.* II 52) [303]; *POxy.* XXXIII 2673 [304]; *CPR* XVIIA 7 [304], 16, 17a, 17b, 19 [321]; *POxy.* XLI 2969 [323]; *POxy.* IX 1206 [335]; *PKöln* V 232 [early IV]. According to E. Majer-Leonhard the variant μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα had its peak time from the first to the third century C.E., whereas γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης resembled the other type in the fourth and fifth century. Later on, in 1950, this was confirmed by R. Calderini. Even if these two works could not take into account the newly edited documents, they present us with a tendency which is still valid. Cf. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 69 and the relevant listings; Calderini, ‘Gli ἀγράμματοι’ 30 (1950) 17–19.

¹² E.g. see: *PSI* IX 1027 [151] *PMil.Vogl.* II 71 [161–180]; *PAmh.* II 102 [180]; *BGU* I 118 [188/9]; *SB* III 10 [195/6]; *PMich.* V 614 [256]; *PCair.Isid.* 2 [298], 3, 4 [299], 41 [302–312], 47 [309] and many more in the Isidorus archive; *POxy.* I 71 i [303] *PSI* IX 1038 [313] *PMert.* II 91 [316], 92 [324]; *PAmh.* II 138 [324] and many more papyri from Oxyrhynchos [several centuries]. Again E. Majer-Leonhard supplies

- C) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βραδέως γράφοντος / βραδέα γράφοντος
—‘I wrote for him who writes slowly’.¹³

People mentioned in these three formulae types had in common that they needed someone to add the required subscription for them. Those writing ‘on behalf of others’ in that time are called ὑπογραφεῖς, a term being derived from the verb ὑπογράφειν and many times used in subscription formulae.¹⁴ But not everybody met with the prerequisites of such a ὑπογραφεύς. His duty was not only to subscribe for someone else but also to check the contents of the document so that all agreements between the party represented by himself and the other party were phrased in an unambiguous and understandable way. *POxy.* I 71 (revised as *Grundz.Mitt.* 62), col. i, gives an impression of the dangers for illiterates, ἀγράμματοι, when they had to participate in juridical or contractual proceedings. There, Aurelius Demetrius complained about Aurelius Sotas that the latter had betrayed him. And Sotas could do that just because Demetrius was illiterate (διὰ τὸ ἀγράμματόν με εἶναι). Thus, a ὑπογραφεύς had to be a trustworthy person and definitely not anyone in a village or from the streets.¹⁵ Calling him a friend or a close

evidence for the peak times of the formula, which can be asserted for the simple form between the second and the fourth century CE and for the expanded variant with the participle ὄντος from the fifth onwards. Cf. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 70–71, and the relevant listings.

¹³ E.g. see: *P.Mich.* IX 554 [51–96]; *PFay.* 97 [78]; *PTebt.* II 316 [99]; *PRein.* I 44 [104]; *PStras.* I 19 [105]; *POxy.* III 497 [early II]; *PLond.* II 298 [124]; *PTebt.* II 311 [134]; *PGiss.* I 29 [150]; *BGU* II 446 [158/9]; *PHamb.* I 39,33 [179]; *PAmh.* II 102 [180]; *PLond.* III 1164k [212]. The list given by E. Majer-Leonhard in 1913 with 30 ‘slow writers’ was increased by R. Calderini in 1950 to 51. But not all of these are determined as ‘writing slowly’ in the documents (see above all *PHamb.* I 39,32 and 39,34). That is why H.C. Youtie reduces Calderini’s list to 48. Cf. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 72–72, and the related listings; Calderini, ‘Gli ἀγράμματοι’, 34–36. For a brief critical note on Calderini see Youtie, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 248 and n. 41 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 648–9).

¹⁴ Cf. Turner, *Papyrologist at Work*, 36. For detailed information on the ὑπογραφεῖς see Youtie, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 201–21 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I, 179–99).

¹⁵ Against the definitions given in LSJ: “a person who has... signed a deed on behalf of another”; Preisigke/Kießling 2: “ein beliebiger Einwohner, welcher als Schreibvertreter eines durch Gebrechen am Schreiben Verhinderten oder eines Schreibunkundigen eine Urkunde unterzeichnet”; Pape 2: “der nachschreibt, was man ihm dictirt [Sic!]”. More to the point with emphasis on the reliability: A. Steinwenter, *Stud.Pal.* XIX, p. 68: “... daß man sich einfach an eine beliebige, vertrauenswürdige und schreibkundige Person mit der Bitte um Schreibhilfe wenden konnte.”

relative, especially a son or a brother, would come closer to what he was from the point of view of the person he wrote for.¹⁶

If it was not possible to find such a reliable person, a professional scribe might have to be trusted. Such a professional was usually trustworthy, too, or in other words, it was better for him to act in a way which was juridically correct because of the self-identification a ὑπογραφεύς had to give in a document. In contrast to the scribe, who wrote the body of a document, in most cases a professional or a member of a scribal office, the one writing on behalf of someone else never remained anonymous. Besides his name, we sometimes also know his age or some characteristics by which he could be clearly identified later on. Here, he who had confidence in his ὑπογραφεύς was on the safe side, such as were those who could not write on their own because of bad eyesight as shown in *POxy.* XLI 2696 (as it seems) and *POxy.* VI 911. In the latter, a lease of a house, the bad sight is explicitly emphasised in the body of the document as the reason for the employment of a ὑπογραφεύς in order to reinforce why one party did not subscribe in its own hand.¹⁷

Fair enough so far. But why then did a ‘slow writer’ need someone else for writing a subscription? Of course, if he was one of those who did not write but paint his letters, a scribe or a partner in a contractual proceeding would have lost much time. But we may presume that a ‘slow writer’ would at the same time have been a ‘slow reader’. Then, neither could he easily write longer sentences, nor read what he signed.¹⁸ Therefore, a ὑπογραφεύς relieved the tasks of the ‘slow writers’, wrote the subscription and controlled the contents of the document body. By this he enabled those mentioned in all three formulae types A), B), and

¹⁶ Cf. Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 145, 147, calling him a “Freund” (‘friend’); von Woess, *Untersuchungen*, 300: “Gewöhnlich bringt ihn die Partei mit, häufig ist es ein Verwandter.” (‘relative’); Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 154; Youtie, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 209 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 187).

¹⁷ Cf. von Woess, *Untersuchungen*, 299–302; Youtie, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 211–2 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 189–90). Many documents reveal the desirability and even necessity of providing a subscription in one’s own hand (an *autograph*). Consequently, the formulae γράφειν ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ or γράφειν ἰδίῳις γράμμασιν as shown in *SB* I 5681; *PRyl.* II 154; *POxy.* XVI 1894; *PMich.* X 585; *PRoss.Georg.* II 15, to mention only a few, are to be understood that way.

¹⁸ One more reason may be stated here: some of the so-called ‘slow writers’ (so-called because of the few words and the way how they wrote) actually could neither read nor write. But this will be shown, when the cases of the ‘village scribes’ Ischyron and Petaus are discussed.

C) to participate as equal partners in juridical and contractual affairs and so made them part of the official life in Egyptian society during the Graeco-Roman period.¹⁹

Up to now the term illiteracy has obviously been understood exclusively as the lack of the ability to read and write. But this must not be accepted without deeper reflection. If we take over the ancient assumption that someone was literate who could sign his name, those determined with the formula type C), the βραδέως γράφοντες, may be put aside now and their discussion postponed for a short while, because they could do that on their own, at least theoretically.²⁰ An example can be instructive here. A certain Ischyriion, κωμογραμματεὺς ('village scribe') of Tamauiš, a village in the north-east of the Fayûm, had been denounced to be ἀγράμματος ('illiterate') and, therefore, was considered as not having the appropriate qualifications of a village scribe.²¹ His colleague in office, Petaus, κωμογραμματεὺς of Ptolemaïs Hormu in the south of the Fayûm, instructed by his superior, the στρατηγός Apollonios, to investigate the complaint, reported: μὴ εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀγράμματον αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ ὑπογράφειν οἷς ἐπιδίδωσι στρα(τηγῶ) καὶ ἄλλοις βιβλίοις τῆς κωμογρα(μματείας).²² In fact, he is not illiterate, too, but he signs what is submitted to the *strategus* and the other

¹⁹ See on that: Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 152; Youtie, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ', 201, 210–20 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 179, 188–98). In the Graeco-Roman world literacy had diverse functions in which illiterates or 'slow writers' could participate by the means of trustworthy ὑπογραφεῖς. For a list of the functions in the Greek and Roman periods see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 26–27, 196–233.

²⁰ Cf. Turner, 'Village Administration', 33; Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 11; Youtie, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ', 201, 210–20 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 179).

²¹ Many thanks go to C. Roemer and J. Hammerstaedt of the collection of papyri in the 'Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität Köln' for making work on the originals possible. *PPetaus* 11 (= *PKöln Inv.* 337) [May 2, 184] presents the full case: A certain Aphrodisios sent his complaint about Ischyriion to the διοικητής, the highest officer for finances in Egypt, who then ordered the στρατηγός Appianos, the governor, to investigate the case. Of course, he instructed his subordinate, Petaus, to report on the assumed illiteracy of Ischyriion.

²² On the reading μὴ see: Youtie, 'βραδέως γράφον', 240 n. 8 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 630); Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 83. On the original a space in front of the η can be observed, wide enough for one or maybe two letters. If we assume a negation with μὴ, there would be some problems with the following δὲ καί. But if we take the negation as a reinforcement, i.e. that it is negating what is said in the previous lines, the postponement of δὲ to the third position is explicable. Be it as it may, the sense will be the same: Petaus clears the case with the assertion that Ischyriion could sign his papers and therefore is not illiterate in the sense of being unqualified to serve as a village scribe. The critical edition of *PPetaus* and its comments can give further insights in the case. Cf. *PPetaus* (Pap.Colon. IV, pp. 91–95).

documents of the scribal office in his village'. To Petaus his colleague Ischyriion fulfilled his official tasks and duties properly, because he was able to write his signature. Thus, Ischyriion could stay in office as if he was completely literate, a status which he obviously had in the eyes of the other *κωμογραμματεὺς*.²³

So far so good, as it seems. But another document may cause further doubts about the presumed meaning that the illiteracy formulae in documents from Graeco-Roman Egypt had for all languages. A sale of a house written in Demotic and Greek contains a subscription of great importance, which we may present here in its diplomatic transcription: Ἐγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (name is lost) διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα Ἑλληνικά, ἀλλὰ Αἰγύπτια γράφει (gap).²⁴ 'I wrote for him (name) because he does not know Greek letters, but he writes Egyptian ones...' Then the seller made some additions in Egyptian. This could mean that illiteracy was exclusively related to the knowledge of Greek. A declaration of church property from Oxyrhynchos defined a church lector (*ἀναγνώστης*) as being illiterate.²⁵ Taking into account that his devotion had been to read out scriptures to the assembly, this formula may only refer to Greek. Furthermore, considering the date of the document, 304 C.E., the church services might have been held in Coptic, which this lector then might have spoken. In a broader sense, this description²⁶ shows that the designation of someone as being illiter-

²³ Generally on the Ischyriion case, see Youtie, 'Pétaus', 137 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 687); idem, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 171 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 621); idem, 'βραδέως γράφων', 240 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 630); Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 278; Turner, 'Village Administration', 39.

²⁴ *SB* I 5117, l. 6 [55]. See the comments by Wilcken, 'Papyrus-Urkunden', 142–5. Next to *SB* I 5117 see also *P.Tebt.* II 291, *P.Vindob.Tandem* 26, *SB* I 5231, 5275, *P.Rev.* 9. For better legibility a diplomatic transcription of the reconstructed text is preferred to a critical one (according to the so-called 'Leiden system'), because the formula type and its contents are of special interest here and not the reconstruction itself and the task of critical editing. Above all, *P.Vindob.Tandem* 26,20 may help to understand the meaning and function of 'Egyptian letters': Ὑπογρ(αφεὺς) ὁ ἐπιγρ(αψάμενος) αὐτῆς κύριος καὶ Αἰγύπτια γρ(άμματα) καὶ... P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp provide two possibilities for interpreting this line: (a) Sochotes, guardian of Thases, was able to write in Greek (then καὶ Ἑλληνικά γράμματα εἰδὼς must be added), or (b) Sochotes could write demotic and hieratic (the line must end καὶ ἱερὰ γράμματα εἰδὼς). See the discussion in *P.Vindob.Tandem*, pp. 198–9 (with references to *P.Vindob.Worp* 10).

²⁵ *POxy.* XXXIII 2673 [304]. Line 34 contains the μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα formula. Specifically about illiteracy and Oxyrhynchos see Schneider, 'The Extent of Illiteracy in Oxyrhynchos', 670–4. On lists from Aphrodito in late antiquity and its mentions of illiterate people: Gagos/van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute*, 8–18.

²⁶ Cf. the interpretations by J.R. Rea, 2673. *Declaration of Church Property*, in: *POxy.* XXXIII, 108; Youtie, 'Because They Do Not Know Letters', 104 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 258).

ate simply referred to the knowledge of Greek, even if there are other explanations possible for the lector's refrain from writing in Greek.²⁷ Even more instructive are some papyri from Socnopaei Nesus, kept in the John Rylands Library in Manchester.²⁸ They all carry a Greek subscription under a Demotic contract. One of them reveals that the illiteracy formulae were exclusively related to the knowledge of Greek.²⁹ A certain Stotoëtis sold his house as a security to Apynchis, who in reverse lent money to the first, a fine example of a mortgage (ὑποθήκη) in early times. Both contracts, the sale and the loan (*PRyl.* II 160d, col. i and ii), have a Greek subscription for Stotoëtis and the Demotic signature of Apynchis. Nevertheless, both contractors are defined as being illiterate despite Apynchis's own writing.

The administration of Graeco-Roman Egypt was based upon the Greek language. All those who could not read and write Greek were designated as illiterates as shown above. That most of the Egyptians stuck to their mother tongue and did not have any interest in learning Greek might have had one explanation in the mostly rural structure of the country with only three, and later four, πόλεις (before 202 C.E. only Alexandria, Naucratis, Ptolemaïs, and Antinoopolis had a βουλή and the status of a Greek autonomous πόλις). The scarcity of the knowledge of Greek might also have been caused by the disinterest of the Greeks, and the Romans later on, in an assimilation of the Egyptians to their culture and way of live. Wide-spread Hellenization was never intended. Only the exploitation of the resources of the country was of interest to the conquerors. Why should a farmer, a fisherman, or the like learn Greek? For his everyday life it was not of any advantage.³⁰

²⁷ The church lector Ammonios might have refrained from writing on this declaration decreed by the state decreed in his own hand out of religious reasons. Possibly, writing there by himself could have had something of an oath to the state and thus to the emperor (who claimed to be godlike) in the lector's eyes. And that was quite problematic for Christians. Cf. Wipszycka, 'Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire', 117–21 and the reply by Clark, 'An Illiterate Lector?', 103–4. For further bibliography see BL VIII, 260–1 and BL X, 149.

²⁸ *PRyl.* II 160 [28/29], 106a [14–37], 160b [37], 160c [32], 160d [183–185]. Together with these *CPR* XV 47 [109/10, Socnopaei Nesus] and *BGU* III 910 [69/70, Fayûm] present a specific type for bilingual contracts. On that see the comment in *PRyl.* II, pp. 176–9; Youtie, 'Because They Do Not Know Letters', 104–6.

²⁹ *PRyl.* II 160d, col. i (sale of a house) and col. ii (loan of money). See also Youtie, 'Because They Do Not Know Letters', 102–3 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 256–7).

³⁰ Cf. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 249, 312–4; Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 25, 81; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 276; Youtie, 'Response', in: *Jewish Languages*, 155 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 57); Thompson, *Literacy and power*, 82; From 146 B.C.E.

As can be inferred from many documents the Egyptians had to stick to their mother tongues even in front of a judge, a slight piece of evidence for the continuous domination of the different forms of Egyptian as the private language for the great part of the native Egyptians and for those of Greek descent. Many cases are known in which interpreters were required to translate the Demotic to the judges.³¹

Of course, it can be supposed that many Egyptians were completely illiterate. The complex systems of hieroglyphics and of the Demotic language had always been an obstacle in the way of a more wide-spreading knowledge of reading and writing. No doubt priests and scribes were professionally determined to be literate, even if there are papyri which show priests at least illiterate in Greek.³² But of what advantage would reading and writing have been for the mostly rural population? If they had to make a contract, they could do that with the assistance of a trustworthy ὑπογραφεύς. We may conclude that the knowledge of how to write Greek and Demotic was scarce in rural Egypt, even if a more precise evaluation would be problematic where scientific methods are concerned.

Unfortunately, there are no reliable statistical data available to show how many people in Graeco-Roman Egypt really were illiterate. Despite the thousands of non-literary papyri, definitive statements in this field remain problematic. How does one judge here from papyri that were found at random with an accidental geographical and chronological stratification? What we may do today is to deduce from the written evidence we have. No generalisations, no final judgements.³³ Then, some

onwards Egyptian contracts originally written in demotic should be turned into a Greek version and stowed away in an official registry in order to be easily cited in the law courts. Furthermore on *grapheion*, registry, and archive, see Pierce, 'Grapheion', 68–83; Burkhalter, 'Archives locales et archives centrales', 191–216; Cockle, 'State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt', 106–22. In Graeco-Roman Egypt the γυμνάσιον was the place to learn Greek for those who could afford such an education. See on that Delorme, *Gymnasion*; Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, 32–9.

³¹ Some documents mention that interpreters were needed in juridical proceedings because of the Demotic tongue of some of the people. See the documents referred to by Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*, 312, 326; Taubenschlag, *Opera minora* II, 167–70; Peremans, 'Les ἐρμηνεῖς dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', 11–17. The papyri show one further point: the administration and the juridical apparatus even reckoned with people who spoke Demotic only and, thus, not only accepted but sometimes also supplied interpreters.

³² See, for instance, *P.Amh.* I 82 [III/IV], a petition of a former high priest. Instructive are the examples given by Gagos/van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute*, 11–12.

³³ The lack of what we call statistical data today is regretted by: Boak, 'The Population of Roman and Byzantine Karanis' 157–62; Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, 19

tendencies can be read out of the documents. Those designated as ‘not knowing letters’ are more likely village officials, soldiers, tradesmen, craftsmen, and rivermen who needed a relative, friend, or professional scribe to write for them. There was also a tendency that those listed above more likely acted as lessees than as lessors and as debtors than as creditors. If anything at all can be said about the social status of those denominated as illiterates, they are more likely members of a lower class, descendants of Egyptianised Greeks or superficially Hellenized Egyptians.³⁴ But for Roman Egypt “...the dividing line between the upper and the lower class was no longer between the Greeks forming the upper, and the Egyptians forming the lower class, but between the rich and poor in general...”³⁵

We should not automatically judge a Greek as being literate, just because he is a Greek,³⁶ nor should we say that those we expect to be able to read and write actually are in possession of these abilities. As said before, Ischyriion, a village scribe, who had been denounced to be illiterate, was confirmed in office by a colleague who defined literacy as being able to write one’s own signature. Some may frown at that paradox and ask: a village scribe who was illiterate? This colleague,

n. 20, 91f n. 67; Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 43–47; Youtie, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 204 (= idem, *Scriptumculae Posteriores* I, 182); idem, ‘ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ’, 164 (= idem, *Scriptumculae* II, 614). See also the discussion between W. den Boer and K. Hopkins: den Boer, ‘Demography in Roman History’, 29–46; Hopkins, ‘Demography in the Roman World’, 77–8; den Boer, ‘Republican Rome and the Demography of Hopkins’, 79–82. A more optimistic view about reliable statistical data (concerning life expectancy in Graeco-Roman Egypt) hold Hombert/Préaux, ‘Note sur la durée de la vie’, 139–46 and above all Bagnall/Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, who are dealing with all kinds of questions concerning demography in Egypt.

³⁴ Cf. Calderini, ‘Gli ἀγράμματος’, 25–26; Youtie, ‘ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ’, 173 (= idem, *Scriptumculae* II, 623). On the limits for a qualitative evaluation of the data for Aphrodito in late antiquity (as mostly presented in papyri in *PCair.Masp.* I, *PCair.Masp.* II and *PLond.* V), see also Gagos/van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute*, 13: “The distribution of literacy and illiteracy over the various groups represented among the signatories is markedly uneven.”

³⁵ Rostovtzeff, *Social & Economic History* II, 883. Similarly Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 276. The social structure of Egyptian society is depicted by Rostovtzeff in his three volume work, Harris, and Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, above all 25–47.

³⁶ See *PTebt.* II 316 [99], a declaration of *epheboi*, in which Ammonis Didumos needed a ὑπογραφεύς because he was a ‘slow writer’ (col. iv, ll. 100–3). People educated at a *gymnasion* were expected to be literate. Cf. *PSI* VI 716 [306?]. This Ammonis may have forgotten what he was taught once. But another problem occurs here. Being ἀγράμματος might be irreconcilable with the office of a βουλευτής (see *PThead.* 32; *PFloz.* I 63).

Petaus,³⁷ κωμογραμματεὺς of Ptolemaïs Hormu and responsible for at least four further villages, was in office from 183/4 C.E. to probably 186/7. His archive³⁸ has conserved 127 texts kept in Michigan and Cologne. A loan from 183/4 contains a subscription which gives us a first hint of Petaus's secret: Θεὸν ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πεταῦτος τὰ πλῆστα.³⁹ 'I, Theon, wrote the greater part also for Petaus'. The first two lines reveal that Theon and Petaus were brothers from the village Karanis. Why was Petaus, the village scribe, in need of someone to write for him?

Seven documents carry a signature which can be identified as Petaus handwriting.⁴⁰ Fortunately, one papyrus is preserved which strengthens this assumption.⁴¹ On that one, Petaus seems to have practised his signature. The damaged sheet presents the same line over and over again, twelve times altogether: Πεταῦς κωμογρα(μματεὺς) ἐπιδέδωκα.

³⁷ For a detailed discussion of the Petaus case see, besides the *editio princeps* (P.Petaus), Youtie, 'Pétaus', 127–43 (= idem, *Scriptumculae* II, 677–95); Youtie, 'βραδέως γράφων', 239–44 (= idem, *Scriptumculae* II, 629–66); Turner, 'Village Administration', 37–45; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 278.

³⁸ On the term 'archive' for a collection see the justification by Worp, 'Vorwort', 1; Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology* 76–9 and Martin, 'Archives privées et cachettes documentaires', 576–7. Cf. also *supra* note 29.

³⁹ *P.Petaus* 31, ll. 13–14 (= *P.Mich. Inv.* 6878r); note the itacistic writing πλῆστα for πλεῖστα.

⁴⁰ Petaus used two different types of signature. With Πεταῦς ἐπιδέδωκα he signed three papyri: *P.Petaus* 46 (= *PKöln inv.* 311), 47 (= *P.Mich. inv.* 6875), and 77 (= *PKöln inv.* 310b). The longer signature, Πεταῦς κωμογρα(μματεὺς) ἐπιδέδωκα, can be read on four other papyri: *P.Petaus* 49 (= *PKöln inv.* 340), 60 and its preliminary works (= *PKöln inv.* 312, 395, 397 recto). Principally, there should be caution with definitive identifications and distinctions of hands. A scribe might have trained a specific signature which appears as totally different from his ordinary writing habit. This could also hold true for people writing under particular circumstances at different times, one day elaborately and with care, the other fluently or without any care. See on that Hagedorn, *P.Petaus*, pp. 34–5, and the instructive article by Förster, 'Das Verlangen der Elenden hörst du, Herr', 141–6, where the author presents palaeographical evidence for the identification of two seemingly different hands as those of the same scribe. One time he was in a hurry, at some other occasion he had enough time to shape his letters elaborately. This may also apply in the Petaus case. If, for instance, Petaus's signature on *P.Petaus* 49 is read in comparison with the writing practices on *P.Petaus* 114 and 121, one can identify some differences in the way of forming the letters: the signatures on the exercise papyri is less fluent and less cursive than that on the nomination. But nevertheless here as on all the other papyri with Petaus' signature many unique characteristics are to be observed (see, e.g., the *pi*, the *alpha*, and the *upsilon*). Identification may be secured by contrasting this hand to that on *P.Petaus* 115 with a definitely different style and way of writing (above all *epsilon*, *alpha* with a horizontal stroke, and *pi* with a horizontal stroke longer than the width between the left and the right legs). On the palaeographical handling of signatures see, for instance, Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 149–55.

⁴¹ *P.Petaus* 121 (= *PKöln inv.* 328).

As a result of this, the sheet can be identified as a writing exercise. The papyrus was folded three times in an epistolary fashion. Then Petaus wrote on it something like an address, indicated by the cross commonly used for marking the place for a seal.

Even more interesting is the way Petaus wrote the twelve lines, because he made many mistakes. In l. 3 the *iota* in ἐπιδέδωκα is added later, in l. 4 the right leg of *pi* is missing, and in l. 5 the initial vowel of ἐπιδέδωκα was left out. From then on until the end the initial *epsilon* will not turn up again. Thus, first of all Petaus probably copied his signature from a model text onto his papyrus and then in the following lines he imitated himself again in each line. Taking each line as the model for the next one, he must have lost track of what he was actually doing somewhere in this copying process.⁴² After having left out the *epsilon* in l. 5, he always copied the respective model of the previous line from l. 6 onwards. If he had been able to read, he would have noticed his mistake of omitting the vowel of the verb and would have corrected his text. Unfortunately, the papyrus is mangled in ll. 1–2 (*lacunae*), and there is no way to reconstruct the relevant orthography of ἐπιδέδωκα there in a scholarly justifiable way. Thus, a comparison with the other preserved lines is a matter of impossibility. But there are further corrections which manifest his illiteracy. In l. 1 he was dissatisfied with his writing and restarted after some letters which can be reconstructed as Πετα. In l. 4 he altered a started *alpha* into an *upsilon* within his name. And in l. 9 he stopped after the first three letters and tried to erase them; this can only be traced clearly with some effort. Here, Petaus spelt his name Πτε and was obviously dissatisfied with what he wrote in contrast to that what he could see in the previous line.⁴³ Then, he began anew after the letters he had effaced. These, mostly orthographical, insecurities

⁴² *PPetaus* 115 (= *PKöln inv.* 378) might have been such a model text. Along the fibers on the recto a second hand added the signature Πεταῦς ἐπιδέδωκα, which is written in larger letters and more fluently. Another point for the probability of a model text is given by H.C. Youtie, who interprets the abbreviatory sign as an asymmetrical formation of the usual sinuate-shaped abbreviation 'S', which could have been on a model copied by Petaus. Cf. Youtie, 'Pétaus', 133 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 683). Unfortunately, the village scribe interrupted his second writing exercise, *PPetaus* 114 (= *PKöln inv.* 366) at the right margin of the recto, even before he had to write the abbreviation, so that we have no evidence of that sign from another exercise papyrus.

⁴³ The original shows that the writer started off with Πτε, then was dissatisfied with his faulty writing, because it did not exactly correspond to the previous line, and, eventually, erased the three letters. Then Petaus continues after a small space of about a letter-width.

of writing are perfectly backed by palaeographical observations: his hand reveals Petaus as someone belonging to those who did not write much, if we take the rather late but relevant term ὀλιγογράμματος by Iustinianus (*Nov.* 73.8), or to be more precise, those who shaped their letters very slowly, almost painted them, the ‘slow writers’ who are called in the documents βραδέως γράφοντες and the like. All this data betrays Petaus as an illiterate ‘village scribe’, who only could paint his signature with great effort. Accordingly, he was possibly illiterate in Demotic as well, even if that cannot be proved from the palaeographical data with complete certainty.⁴⁴

Now, with Ischyriion and Petaus there are two ‘village scribes’ who could neither read nor write, or in other words, who were illiterate except from being able to write their own signatures. This is absolutely surprising as regards some of the duties a κομογραμματεὺς had to fulfil during his term of office. He carried out the fiscal and agricultural decisions taken in Alexandria, controlled the local police, nominated the liturgical officers, headed the local registry office responsible for the listing of private property, births, deaths, land-schedules etc.⁴⁵

In world history, a village scribe or official might not have been of any importance at all, but to common villagers he was one of the most prominent, esteemed persons they would meet throughout their whole lives. From the social and economic standpoint the mostly Hellenized

⁴⁴ See on the slow way of forming one’s letters Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2; Youtie, ‘βραδέως γράφων’, 246–7, 250–1 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 636–8, 641–2). H.C. Youtie prefers what G. Vitelli mentioned of a ‘slow writer’ in his commentary on *PFlor.* I 1 [153] in 1906. To Vitelli the way Horion wrote the required signature for his daughter showed that he was only able to shape a simple signature but not any longer sentences and, thus, needed a professional scribe for writing the body of the declaration to which he added the required signature in his own hand, i.e. the fourth hand in the document (“Ora il padre Horion, che la assiste come kyrios, era bensì in grado di apporre una semplice firma, come si vede dagli stentati suoi caratteri, era un βραδέως γράφων evidentemente incapace di scrivere lunghe proposizioni...”). Thus, Vitelli restricts the term βραδέως γράφων to someone who was unable to write longer sentences and could only shape his signature and possibly some characteristic words. But to do that he needed great effort. Nevertheless, some ‘slow writers’ had a more attractive, somewhat more fluent hand than some skilled, practised literates. Cf. Youtie, ‘βραδέως γράφων’, 256–9 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 647–50); idem, ‘Between Literacy and Illiteracy’, 486. See on *PFlor.* I 1 from a more juridical view see Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, no. 68.

⁴⁵ For detailed information about the office of a κομογραμματεὺς see Oertel, *Liturgie*, 157–159; Preisigke, ‘Komogrammateus’, 1281–4; Turner, ‘Village Administration’, 40–43; Criscuolo, ‘Ricerche sul komogrammateus’, 3–101, on the functions especially 53–90; Lewis, *Inventory of the Compulsory Public Services*, 35.

Egyptians who got into that position were quite on top of the social ladder according to the village hierarchy.

We have already heard of Ischyryon who had been suspected to be illiterate. Apart from literacy, i.e. at least the ability to write one's signature, someone who was nominated for the office of a *κωμογραμματεὺς* should have had private property. In case of a failure or a mistake when in office the government was satisfied by the surety any nominee had given. Consequently, a liturgy in Graeco-Roman Egypt was an undesirable burden for any nominee. Ischyryon and one of his colleagues, a certain Neseus, were denounced that they were in debt and did not own the required property for their offices.⁴⁶ Petaus could report to his *στρατηγός* Apollonios that both suspects possessed the indispensable 3,000 *drachmas* and would therefore be nominated as village scribes.⁴⁷ Two points may be deduced from all that: first, a village scribe was not only well-respected but at the same time socially well-off in contrast to most of the other natives or Graeco-Egyptians; second, his liturgical office, above all a *munus personale*, involved risks as well and he could end in bankruptcy. But for the Egyptians it was the perfect but rare chance of relieving their heavy burdens of work and taxation.⁴⁸ Taken into account that a *κωμογραμματεὺς* had helpers, *βοηθοί*, and scribes, *γραμματεῖς*, to fulfill his duties, one may assert that literacy was the dispensable prerequisite for his office, whereas his property definitely is not. Or in H.C. Youtie's words: "If the man couldn't write, he could always pay to have the writing done".⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *PPetaus* 10 (= *PKöln inv.* 310a; Neseus), 11 (= *PKöln inv.* 337; Ischyryon). Further investigations against village scribes are made in *PMil.Vogl.* II 98; *SB* VI 9315; *BGU* II 587.

⁴⁷ *PPetaus* 10, ll. 18–19; *PPetaus* 11, ll. 33–34. In comparison with the office of a *κωμογραμματεὺς*, someone who intended to become a council member in Oxyrhynchos had to pay an entrance fee of about 10,000 *drachmas*, i.e. the approximate value of six houses in the city. Cf. K.A. Worp, *CPR XVIIA*, p. 11.

⁴⁸ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social & Economic History* I, 316–20; Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 171 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 622); Turner, 'Village Administration', 42–43; Oertel, *Liturgie*, 157. Taking aside the risks and the burden caused by the liturgical offices in that time, we may assume that a *κωμογραμματεὺς* could take advantages from his tasks and duties as well. Besides getting relief from work and taxation, he was held in high-esteem by the villagers. But he could also earn some money. On the one hand there was a kind of *baksheesh*, probably raised by the state (φιλόανθρωπον), on the other he had a fixed income (ὑποκείμενον τῇ κωμογραμματείᾳ). Cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 159; Preisigke, 'Komogrammateus', 1282.

⁴⁹ Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 172 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 623). See, for instance, the scribal office of Petaus, which employed around eleven different scribes. Cf. Hagedorn, 'Einleitung: Die Schreiber des Archivs', 34–39.

So, we may suspect more officials to be illiterate than expected. This could have been the case especially at the end of the Roman occupation of Egypt, when the previously well-organised administration broke up part by part and an abuse of authority or nepotism became more common. But there is one thing which must be made clear once more: even if illiteracy might have been a wide-spread phenomenon in Graeco-Roman Egypt, possible even among officials, one should not generalise social classes, professions, or nativity of those who were illiterate. The *Didascalia Apostolorum*, for instance, depicts that even in the third century a bishop could have been illiterate and that it was no problem for his vocation.⁵⁰ Only deductions and estimates from the papyri are justified methodologically. These, then, may present some tendencies, but it should never be forgotten that the findings, nevertheless, are of accidental geographical and chronological stratification. So every individual document has to be investigated separately, then together with familiar or related ones, and only then a tendency can be stated. This caution is also valid for statements about women and literacy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, a topic which is too complex to be discussed here adequately in this brief account.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Cf. *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*. 1.2.1.2 (ed. Funk; pp. 29–33): ἔστω οὖν, εἰ δυνατὸν, πεπαιδευμένος · εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐμπειρὸς τοῦ λόγου, καθήκων τῇ ἡλικίᾳ. *Sit igitur, si possibile est, [ad omnia] eruditus; et si sine literis est, sed notitiam habens verbi [divini] et stabilis aetate*. Compare to that *Didascalia Apostolorum*. *The Syriac Version*, 30 (ed. Connolly; IV ii 1). In that time it seemed to be of more importance that a bishop was blameless and beyond reproach. The early Latin version and the Greek original present the picture prominent in a probably Syriac church, which might as well be mirrored in the multiplying small bishoprics in North Africa, especially in Egypt.

⁵¹ Usually, a woman was represented by a κύριος, a guardian, in contractual affairs, who then wrote and acted for her as, for instance, *POxy*. XII 1466 [245] implies. *POxy*. XII 1467 [263] mentions Aurelia Thaisous, a woman who became active without the assistance of a κύριος because she had three children and could write, which she claimed as prerequisites enough for acting on her own, although usually literacy was not regarded as necessary. The same woman acted under her other name, Lolliane, four years later when she made an application for the sale of land (*POxy*. XII 1475), again without a guardian. Furthermore, *PCharite* 8 [348] presents us with a positive formula about the literacy of a woman, Aurelia Charite, from Hermopolis. And *PGiss*. I 29 [150] denominates Didyme, also called Matrona, a 'slow writer'. Probably, she found writing rather difficult and, because she was represented by a guardian, she refrained from signing the document herself. Nine years later, *PFay*. 99 gives the impression that the same woman then wrote a receipt in a practised cursive hand, because no mention of a ὑπογραφεύς or the like is made. Rightly, that was very much doubted by the editors of the Fayûm papyri. See also *PKöln* I 56, a letter probably written by a certain Diodora herself. For an orientation on literacy, the κύριος, and women, see Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 165–9 (idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 615–9); idem, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ', 212–4 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 190–1); Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 22–24, 279–80 (and

Why then, in order to reconsider the formulae mentioned above, are there three prominent types of qualifying one party in a contractual system as illiterate or semi-literate, if the ability to write one's signature is accepted as such? The types A) and B) can be put together, because their temporal stratification suggests that A) was more and more giving way to type B) even if they had coexisted for centuries.⁵² But even if someone denied that this could be shown convincingly, these two formulae would always express the same: they designate people as illiterates. A difference must be made between A) and B) on the one, and C) referring to the *βραδέως γράφοντες* on the other hand. They must have meant something different in most cases, and could not have been a further synonymous qualification of an illiterate, such as Ischyron and Petaus. Some documents contain type C) as well as A) or B).⁵³ They distinguish those who are completely illiterate from those who could at least sign their contracts on their own, even if both groups were in need of a *ὑπογραφεύς* for writing a subscription and for controlling the contents. Nonetheless some took the decisive steps as Petaus or Ischyron did: they refrained from using a *ὑπογραφεύς* and with great effort wrote their signatures in their own hands. By that they claimed that they were literate, a prerequisite for their position of 'village scribes'. Others who did likewise might have thought of some prestige and reputation they could get from acting as if they were literate.⁵⁴

the papyri cited in the notes); Kutzner, *Zur Stellung der Frau*. On the (Augustean) *Ius trium liberorum* and women enjoying this privilege Beaucamp, *La Status de la Femme à Byzance*; Sheridan, *Women without Guardians*, esp. 117 n. 1 (bibliographical data).

⁵² Cf. supra notes 11–12, Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 69–71, and the relevant listings.

⁵³ *PRyl.* II 156 [I] and *PMich.* IX 554 [51–96] with A) and C); *PAmh.* II 102 [180] with C) and B). The document in the General Library of the University of Michigan manifests further interesting facts about that time. Inherited property is divided between Gaius Minucius Aquila and his sisters Minucia Gemella and Minucia Thermoutharion. The three Graeco-Egyptians are distinguished in terms of their literacy. Gaius is literate, the sisters represented by their guardians are differentiated: Gemella is presented as someone 'writing slowly' and Thermoutharion as someone 'not knowing letters'. Thus, literacy, semi-literacy, and illiteracy occurred in the same family. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that even type A) and B) occurred together in the same manuscript. *SB* III 6293 [195/6], the release of a certain Zosime, shows such a case. Zenon writes a *ὑπογραφή* for Tasoucharion, a woman who releases Zosime, in the form of type A) in l. 10. But in ll. 11–13 another *ὑπογραφή* manifests type B) for Tasoucharion and her husband Dios, who acted as her *κύριος*. See on that: Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, no. 7.

⁵⁴ Cf. Youtie, 'βραδέως γράφων', 260–1 (= idem, *Scriptumulae* II, 675–76); Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 168–72 (= idem, *Scriptumulae* II, 618–22).

Can we now simply transfer these results, to be more correct, these deductions from Graeco-Roman Egypt to other regions and countries in that time? Probably not, but by reflecting on what is said in the papyri, more thought about the circumstances and the conditions concerning literacy and illiteracy at some other place may be initiated, and more attention to the way results are reached will be paid. Even if the illiterates were not doing as badly as today, even if they had chances of participating in the official life in Graeco-Roman Egypt, even if they could negotiate with literates as equal partners without disadvantages as it seems, and even if co-operation in rural Egypt might have been promoted in the villages by the need of someone writing for an illiterate, we should be careful not to qualify and generalise. Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, as aforesaid and hopefully shown, should not be condemned just because of its negative sides, its risks and burdens, nor should literacy be idealised because of its probable advantages and an educational ideal as propagated by some literates (i.e. classical authors) for then and today.⁵⁵

Even if we almost exclusively have papyrus witnesses from Egypt, and even if the picture of the Graeco-Roman society presented in there might occur rather idealistic, whereas the *παιδεία* dealt with in classical texts mainly refers to an ideal of the cities well supplied with schools, the papyri can nevertheless help to relieve the heavy burden built up against illiteracy in ancient times. This is regarded to be necessary, because the ancient educational ideal, occasionally taken too literally without regard to its deeper implications, has since then been shaping the associations and connotations with (il)literacy. Many excesses of that ideal can still be found in educational classes in schools, at colleges, or even at universities in Europe, stamping those who are unable to read and write with the stigma of lower class and separating the literates from the semi-literates or the illiterates. An idealising of the past always puts up barriers for future developments. Of course, this study is not

⁵⁵ Cf. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 279–80; Youtie, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 201, 220–21 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 179, 198–99); Gagos/van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute*, 13; Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 152–4. R. Thomas tries to express what in her eyes H.C. Youtie may have expressed in a too optimistic fashion, and points out that in many cases illiterates belonged to the lower class. Thus, they tend to be not as well off as literates and by that were disadvantaged. These disadvantages, however, did not result from illiteracy but from social class. She concludes: “We thus get the impression that degrees of literacy were related to social status, but literacy did not bring status itself.”

meant as a propagation of illiteracy for today, but from the papyri modern people may learn how then a society provided almost equal opportunities for those who could and those who could not read and write and that within that society the differences between the rich and the poor were not primarily brought forth by literacy itself.

Addenda

For a palaeographical investigation into the phenomenon of ‘slow writers’—βραδέως γράφοντες with a suggestion of how to distinguish between people explicitly called as such (or their ability to write characterised similarly) in a document and people whose style of writing is described as such by the editors of documents, see the following study ‘8—Slow writers’—βραδέως γράφοντες: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?’. These two articles form the background for the next two—‘9—‘Uneducated’, ‘ignorant’, or even ‘illiterate’? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ἀγράμματοι (and ἰδιῶται) in Acts 4:13’ and ‘10—John 7:15b: “Knowing letters” and (Il)literacy’—that are applications of the socio-cultural data accumulated.

The Petaus papyri are available online: those kept in Cologne (*PPetaus* 11, 46, 60, 114, and 121) are accessible under the URL of the Papyrus Collection of the University of Cologne (go to <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie>; last access 06/11/2006), where color images and brief descriptions are offered. The fine Internet pages of the Advanced Papyrological Information System, APIS (hosted by Columbia University; <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis>; last access 06/15/2006) offer descriptions, but no images, of *PPetaus* 31 (= *PMich. Inv.* 6878r) and *PPetaus* 47 (= *PMich. Inv.* 6875). A catalogue of all the papyri published as *PPetaus*, with links to the above mentioned Internet pages, is supplied by the ‘Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens’, HGV (<http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0>; last access 06/15/2006; click on ‘Texte im HGV’ and then select *PPetaus* from the list of publications in the left frame).

The case of the ‘village scribe’ Petaus is so striking that it has been treated several times. Three quite different examples should be sufficient here: Roger S. Bagnall briefly addressed this phenomenon in his

instructive *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* in 1995 and offers an image of *PPetaus* 121⁵⁶ (which I did not mention in my study). In the course of the treatment of a scribe's work in her *Guardians of Letters* (2000) Kim Haines-Eitzen gets to talking about the case of the two illiterate village scribes.⁵⁷ In 2001 Claudia Kreuzsaler employed *PPetaus* 11 and 121 to demonstrate the relevancy of papyri for the history of law.⁵⁸ While describing 'The Role of "New Testament" Papyri in Everyday Christian Life in Oxyrhynchus' Eldon Jay Epp refers to Ammonius, the illiterate church lector of *POxy.* XXXIII 2673 (304) mentioned above and also points to the two illiterate village scribes Ischyron and Petaus referring to Haines-Eitzen's and my work.⁵⁹

All in all, the area of reading and writing is so broad and its subdivisions so diverse that an overview of recent publications and developments does not make much sense here, as this study focuses on a specific time and geographical area. However, a survey of reading and writing in general as the one presented by Peter Stein⁶⁰ may initiate further interest in this field of research and may be the first step toward concentrating on certain features.

Bibliography

- Bagnall, R.S., *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (Approaching the Ancient World; London-New York: Routledge, 1995).
 —/Frier, B.W., *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Times 23; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 Beauchamp, J., *Le Statut de la Femme à Byzance (IV^e–VII^e siècle). II. Les Pratiques Sociales* (Travaux et mémoires du centre de recherché d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographie 5; Paris: Collège de France, 1992).
 Blanck, H., *Das Buch in der Antike* (Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek; Munich: Beck, 1992).

⁵⁶ Cf. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri*, 24 (and figure 5). He calls Petaus a "village secretary in Ptolemais Hormou" and refers to *PPanop.Beatty* proving that "high-ranking officials like *strategoi* of nomes of the prefect of Egypt had secretaries to take down their letters and then copy them into letter-books, even if the official would normally add a greeting to the letter in his own hand".

⁵⁷ Cf. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 27–9.

⁵⁸ Cf. Kreuzsaler, 'Tintenspuren zum Recht', 102.

⁵⁹ Cf. Epp, 'The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri', 50–1.

⁶⁰ Cf. Stein, *Schriftkultur. Eine Geschichte des Schreibens und Lesens*.

- Boak, A.E.R., 'The Population of Roman and Byzantine Karanis', *Hist.* 4 (1955) 157–62.
- Braunert, H., *Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit* (Bonner histor. Forschungen 26; Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1964).
- Burkhalter, F., 'Archives locales et archives centrales en Egypte romaine', *Chiron* 20 (1990) 191–216.
- Calderini, R., 'Gli ἀγράμματοι nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aeg.* 30 (1950) 14–41.
- Clark, G.W., 'An Illiterate Lector?', *ΖΡΕ* 57 (1984) 103–4.
- Cockle, W.E.H., 'State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 B.C. to the reign of Septimius Severus', *JEA* 70 (1984) 106–22.
- Criscuolo, L., 'Ricerche sul *komogrammateus* nell'Egitto tolemaico', *Aeg.* 58 (1978) 3–101.
- Delorme, J., *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origins à l'Empire romain)* (Paris: Boccard, 1960).
- den Boer, W., 'Demography in Roman History: Facts and Impressions', *Mn.* 26 (1973) 29–46.
- , 'Republican Rome and the Demography of Hopkins', *Mn.* 27 (1974) 79–82.
- Didascalia Apostolorum. The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments. With an Introduction and Notes by R.H. Connolly* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).
- Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum. Vol. 1* (ed. F.X. Funk; Paderborn, 1885).
- Epp, E.J., 'The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri: "Not Without Honor Except in Their Hometown"?', *JBL* 123 (2004) 5–55.
- Exler, F.J., *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri (3rd c. B.C.–3rd c. A.D.)* (Washington D.C.: Diss., Catholic Univ. of America, 1923, repr. Chicago: Ares, 1976).
- Förster, H., 'Das Verlangen der Elenden hörst du, Herr. Ein neues Wiener Septuagintafragment auf Papyrus: Psalm 9,39f.', *Biblos* 43 (1994) 141–6.
- Gagos, T./van Minnen, P., *Settling a Dispute. Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt* (NTAC 1; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
- Gallo, I., *Greek and Latin Papyrology* (Classical Handbook 1; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1986).
- Goody, J./Watt, I., 'The Consequences of Literacy', in: J. Goody (ed.), *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) 27–68.
- Gradenwitz, O., *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1900).
- Hagedorn, U., 'Einleitung: Die Schreiber des Archivs', in: P. Petaus, pp. 34–39.
- Haines-Eitzen, K., *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Harris, W.V., *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge/Mass.-London: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Harvey, F.D., 'Literacy in the Athenian Democracy', *RÉG* 79 (1966) 585–635.
- Hombert, M./Préaux, C., 'Note sur la durée de la vie dans l'Égypte Gréco-romaine', *CEg* 39/40 (1945) 139–46.
- Hopkins, K., 'Demography in the Roman World', *Mn.* 27 (1974) 77–8.
- Jaeger, W., *Paideia, die Formung des griechischen Menschen* (3 vols.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1959; I⁴, II–III³).
- Jaekel, S. (ed.), *Menandri Sententiae. Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis* (Lipsiae: B.G. Teubner, 1964).
- Kreuzsaler, C., 'Tintenspuren zum Recht', *Juridikum. Zeitschrift im Rechtsstaat* 2/2001, 100–3.
- Kutzner E., *Zur Stellung der Frau im römischen Oxyrhynchos* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1989).
- Lewis, N., *Inventory of the Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (Pap.Flor. XXVIII; 2nd ed.; Firenze: Edizioni Gonelli, 1997).
- , *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

- Majer-Leonhard, E., *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ in Aegypto qui litteras sciverint qui nesciverint ex papyris graecis quantum fieri postes exploratus* (Frankfurt a.M.: Diekmann, 1913).
- Martin, A., 'Archives privées et cachettes documentaires', *PapCongr.* XX, 569–77.
- Meyer, P.M., *Juristische Papyri. Erklärung von Urkunden zur Einführung in die juristische Papyrusurkunde* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920).
- Montevecchi, O., *La papirologia* (2nd ed.; Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1988).
- Oertel, F., *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1917; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1965).
- Peremans, W., 'Les ἐρμηνεῖς dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', in: G. Grimm/H. Heinen/E. Winter (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposiums Trier 26.–30. Sept. 1978* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 2; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), 11–17.
- Pierce, R.H., 'Grapheion, Catalogue, and Literacy in Roman Egypt', *SO* 43 (1968), 68–83.
- Preisigke, F., 'Komogrammateus', *PRE* 2 (1922) 1281–4.
- Rostovtzeff, M., *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953–64).
- Rupprecht, H.-A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Schneider, J.S., 'The Extent of Illiteracy in Oxyrhynchos and Its Environment in the Late Third Century B.C.E.', *CJ* 28 (1933) 670–74.
- Schubart, W., *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918).
- , *Griechische Paleographie* (HAW 1.4.1; Munich: Beck, 1925, repr. 1966).
- Sheridan, J., 'Women without Guardians: An Updated List', *BASP* 33 (1996) 117–31.
- Stein, P., *Schriftkultur. Eine Geschichte des Schreibens und Lesens* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft/Primus, 2006).
- Taubenschlag, R., *Opera minora* II (Warsaw: The Hague, 1959).
- Thomas, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Thompson, D.J., 'Literacy and power in Ptolemaic Egypt', in: A.K. Bowman/G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and power in the ancient world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 67–83.
- Turner, E.G., 'Village Administration in the Roman Empire in the Second Century', in: idem, *The Papyrologist at Work*. (GRBS.M 6; Durham: Duke University, 1973) 32–47.
- , *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (ed. P.J. Parsons) (BICS.S 46; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987).
- Van't Dak, E., *Recherches sur les institutions de village en Égypte ptolémaïque*, Ptolemaica (Studia Hellenistica 7; Louvain: Peeters, 1951).
- von Woess, F., *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Ägypten*. (Münchener Beiträge 6; Munich: Beck, 1924).
- Wilcken, U., 'Papyrus-Urkunden', *APF* 2 (1903) 142–45.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypte byzantine', *REAug* 30 (1984) 279–96.
- , 'Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire ou un chrétien qui ne veut pas se souiller? (P.Oxy. XXXIII 2673)', *ΣΠΕ* 50 (1983) 117–121.
- Worp, K.A., 'Vorwort', in: CPR XVIII, p. 1.
- Youtie, H.C., 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt', *HSCP* 75 (1971) 161–76 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 611–27).
- Youtie, H.C., 'Because They Do Not Know Letters', 'Because They Do Not Know Letters' (1975) 101–8 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 255–62).
- , 'Between Literacy and Illiteracy: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt', *PapCongr.* XIII, 481–7.

- , 'βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239–61 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 629–66).
- , 'Pétaus, fils de Pétaus, ou le scribe qui ne savait pas écrire,' *CEg* 41 (1966) 127–43 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 677–95).
- , 'Response', in: H.H. Paper (ed.) *Jewish Languages, Theme and Variations. Proceedings of Regional Conferences of the Association for Jewish Studies* (Cambridge/MA: Association of Jewish Studies, 1978) 155 (= Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, 57).
- , *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).
- , *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I* (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).
- , 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ΖPE* 17 (1975) 201–21 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, 179–99).

CHAPTER EIGHT

‘SLOW WRITERS’—ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ: WHAT, HOW MUCH, AND HOW DID THEY WRITE?*

The phrase βραδέως γράφοντες—‘slow writers’ is often used as a classification of a specific class of people in documentary papyri in order to distinguish them clearly from the literates and the complete illiterates. To use this classification for the hands of literary papyri or school exercises could mean mixing things up, because then at least one of the features of the category ‘slow writers’ would be neglected. With regard to what and how much someone wrote (contents and extent of writing) and how someone wrote (the paleographical description of somebody’s writing) this study has a twofold intention: (a) to depict the possibilities and limits of the usage of βραδέως γράφων for different kinds of papyri, and (b) to suggest a practicable distinction between judging the ‘slow writer’/βραδέως γράφων on documentary papyri and the paleographical circumscription of a specific way of writing, such as ‘written slowly’ and the like.

Much is said about a certain Petaus, the village scribe (κωμογραμματεὺς) of Ptolemaïs Hormou in the south of the Fayûm from A.D. 183/4 to probably 186/7. His archive exhibited a curiosity: this scribe could neither read nor write.¹ This sounds paradoxical, but all he did was to sign his documents with a fixed formula,² which he tried to train and

* Originally published as “‘Slow writers’—Βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?”, *Er* 97 (1999) 86–87. Used with kind permission.

¹ The case of Petaus, a κωμογραμματεὺς, is exhaustively discussed by Youtie, ‘Pétaus’, 127–43 (= idem, *Scriptumculae* II, 677–95): “En effet, il ne sait ni lire ni écrire.” (134); Turner, ‘Village Administration’, 37–45; Youtie, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 239–44 (= idem, *Scriptumculae* II, 629–66); Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 278. See also the introductory chapters in the *editio princeps* (*PPetaus*) and the commentaries on the documents of main interest for Petaus’s illiteracy.

² Seven papyri preserved his signature in two different forms. *PPetaus* 46 (*Köln Inv.* 311), 47 (*PMich. Inv.* 6875), and 77 (*PKöln Inv.* 310b) carry the short Πεταῦς ἐπιδέδωκα, while on *PPetaus* 49 (*PKöln Inv.* 340), 60 and its three preliminary works (*PKöln Inv.* 312, 395, 397 recto) the longer form Πεταῦς κωμογρα(μ)ματεὺς ἐπιδέδωκα was employed. That the identification of a signature with that of a specific hand could be misleading and that caution is advised in this respect, might be obvious. See on that: U. Hagedorn, *PPetaus*, 34–5, and the instructive article by Förster, ‘Das Verlangen der Elenden hörst du, Herr’, 141–6.

memorize.³ His hand was described as “...stiff, awkward, uneven, kept on the line with obvious effort...”,⁴ an indication that he lacked practice of writing at all. Petaus, who must have written very occasionally and then only a few words, could be listed among those writers who are known as βραδέως γράφοντες, i.e. people ‘writing slowly’.⁵

The term βραδέως γράφων can be found many times in non-literary papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. The formula ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βραδέως/βραδέα γράφοντος (and its variants) is added as part of a subscription. And this is written by somebody on behalf of someone else who is illiterate or semi-literate, a ὑπογραφεύς, mostly a friend, a close relative, or a professional scribe.⁶ In these documents the reason is given why one person, who participates in a legal or contractual proceeding, did not write the indispensable subscription on his own. Thus, βραδέως γράφων does not only supply us with any information about a person’s poor and limited literacy but at the same time this qualification serves to justify why a ὑπογραφεύς was employed. Thus, in these non-literary documents someone is directly denominated as a ‘slow writer’, while in the aforesaid example of Petaus the designa-

³ *PPetaus* 114 (*PKöln Inv.* 366) and above all *PPetaus* 121 (*PKöln Inv.* 328) are two writing exercises, on which Petaus trained his signature. Albeit the first one mentioned only carries the short Πεταῦς κομογραμματοεύς, interrupted at the right margin of the papyrus, the latter reveals that Petaus was incapable of reading and writing. The twelve lines, each with Πεταῦς κομογρα(μ)ματοεύς ἐπιδέδωκα, reveal so many mistakes that it becomes apparent that Petaus always copied the letters from the previous line. Furthermore, *PPetaus* 11 (*PKöln Inv.* 337)—Petaus had to check if his colleague Ischyriion was illiterate and thus incapable of being a κομογραμματοεύς—shows that he regarded himself fit for his office, because he as Ischyriion could sign the documents which he had to produce to his superior.

⁴ Youtiey, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 240. Cf. the comment in *PPetaus*, p. 361: “Die kleine, ungleichmäßige Schrift, die uns aus dieser seiner Subskription auch von anderen Dokumenten des Archivs bekannt ist, macht einen unsicheren und unruhigen Eindruck...”; Youtiey, ‘Pétaus’, 134: “Les lettres visent à l’onziale, mais les formes n’en sont pas stables et les traits sont chancelants.”

⁵ Cf. Youtiey, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 239–61; Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 2: Here, E.G. Turner refers to papyri printed and discussed in his own work, which do not explicitly denominate someone as being a βραδέως γράφων. The change of writing styles caused by high and low speed are of great interest to him. Therefore, he employed the qualification ‘writing slowly’ and ‘slow writer’ from the contracts as a similarity to the samples he discusses.

⁶ See on illiteracy in papyri from Egypt: Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 69–73; Schneider, ‘The Extent of Illiteracy’, 670–4; Calderini, ‘Gli ἀγράμματοι’, 14–41; Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 399–400; Youtiey, ‘ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ’, 161–76 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 611–27); Youtiey, ‘Between Literacy and Illiteracy’, 481–7. For details on the ὑπογραφεύς see: Youtiey, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 201–21 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 179–99).

tion follows a paleographical description of the way someone wrote something.

But these different qualifications are the reason why some questions may occur. In what respect are the direct designation as 'slow writers' on the one hand and the paleographical data on the other hand linked or do they impair each other? Is such a twofold definition of a single term useful for practice? What can definitely be said about what, how much, and how a βραδέως γράφων wrote? May there arise any problems from applying the attribute 'slow writer' to a specific style of writing within a text? These questions are to be tackled in the next few paragraphs, but everything said there should be understood as a suggestion only, as a reflection upon the quality and the limitations of such an attribution to a scribe's hand.

The vast number of papyri confirms what Iustinianus distinguished in his *Novellae* in regard to the writing skill of his contemporaries. He made a difference between those who could write, those who were completely illiterate, and those who hardly wrote anything (*Nov.* 73.8 οἱ μὲν γράφουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγράμματος ἢ ὀλιγογράμματος...). And some of the literates then often wrote on behalf of someone belonging to one of the other groups mentioned above.⁷ Even within a single document these gradations between literacy and illiteracy can be found, such as in a division of inherited property between a certain Gaius Minucius Aquila and his sisters Minucia Gemella and Minucia Thermoutharion. While Gaius himself is literate, his sisters each represented by her guardian (κύριος) are designated as 'writing slowly' (Gemella) and 'not knowing letters' (Thermoutharion).⁸ As supplied in other documentary papyri such a distinction was regarded as necessary and important.⁹

⁷ In principle three types of formulae in the subscriptions of non-literary documents provide evidence on the literacy of people for whom someone else wrote: (a) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα/γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης—'I wrote for him who does not know letters', (b) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγράμματος (ὄντος)—'I wrote for him who is illiterate', and (c) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βραδέως γράφοντος/βραδέα γράφοντος—'I wrote for him who writes slowly'. See on the formulae and its many variants above all: Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 69–73; Calderini, 'Gli ἀγράμματοι', 14–41; Exler, *The Form*, 124–6.

⁸ *PMich.* IX 554 [51–96]. As this sample indicates literacy, semi-literacy, and illiteracy could even occur within the same family.

⁹ See, e.g. *PSI* VIII 905 (= *PMich.* V 252) [26/27]; *PRyl.* II 156 [1]; *PAmh.* II 102 [180]; *SB* III 6293 [195/6]. The latter of the three presents the release of a certain Zosime. A ὑπογραφεύς wrote a subscription for Tasucharion, the woman who wanted to release Zosime, and employed the 'not knowing letters' formula in line 10 (cf. *supra* n. 7, type (a)). Later on in lines 11–13 another ὑπογραφή is written for Tasucharion and

Of special interest here are the ὀλιγογράμματοι, those who only wrote occasionally if at all, and thus had scarcely any practice in forming letters. In the papyri they are not called ὀλιγογράμματοι but systematically referred to as βραδέως γράφοντες.¹⁰ Listings of the occurrence of the ‘slow writer’ subscription are available, which, of course, in respect to the accidental findings of papyri and ostraca and their geographical and chronological stratification at random have always had a provisional validity.¹¹ But a look at those documents consulted for the form of the subscription, for the quantity, and for the contents a βραδέως γράφωντος wrote, may give an impression of its usage throughout several centuries, both on papyri and ostraca.¹²

her husband Dios, who acted as her κύριος, this time using the ἀγραμματος formula (cf. supra n. 7, type (b)). See on that documentary papyrus as well from a more legal view the comments by P.M. Meyer on *Jur.Pap.*, p. 7.

¹⁰ Cf. Youtie, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 210; idem, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 253; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 141. Nevertheless, the attribute ὀλιγογράμματος is occasionally applied to the hand of scribes on papyri as in the case of Diodora, who wrote a letter to Valerius Maximus (*PKöln* I 56). The editors call her a “Seltenschreiberin” and conclude (168): “Diodoras Rechtschreibung weicht von der klassischen Norm erheblich ab. Das ist neben ihrer ungeübten Handschrift ein Anzeichen dafür, daß sie nicht oft schrieb.”

¹¹ Cf. the listings by Majer-Leonhard (1913), who found 30 mentions of ‘slow writers’, Calderini (1950), who enlarged the previous list up to 51, and Youtie (1971), who reduced the 51 samples to 48, because not every document listed really contained a βραδέως γράφων phrase. Cf. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 72–73, and the related listings; Calderini, ‘Gli ὀλιγογράμματοι’, 34–36; Youtie, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 248–9 and notes 41–43.

¹² Roman letters in square brackets indicate the century, Arabic numerals the year of origin. All dates are C.E. except otherwise stated. See *O.Wilck.* II 757 [^{B.C.E.} 106/105]; 1057 [Ptol. period]; *BGU* II 543 [^{B.C.E.} 27]; *PMich.* V 346a [13]; *PRyl.* II 183a [16]; *PSI* X 1130 [25]; *BGU* XI 2116 [25/26]; *SB* VI 9110 [26]; *PSI* VIII 905 (= *PMich.* V 252) [26/27]; *PMich.* V 336 [27]; 257; 278; 279 [all three about 30]; *PRyl.* II 173 [34]; *PSI* VIII 906 (= *PMich.* V 273) [45/46]; *PMich.* IX 554 [51–96]; *PFay.* 97 [78]; *StudPal.* XX 1 (= Grundz.Mitt. 220) [83/84]; *PSI* VII 802 [85/86]; *PRoss.Georg.* II 15 [98–102]; *PTeht.* II 316 (= Grundz.Wilck. 148) [99]; *PMich.* V 293; 305 [^{both} I]; *PRyl.* II 156 [I]; *PRein.* I 44 [104]; *PStras.* I 19 [105]; *POxy.* III 497 [^{early} II]; *BGU* I 69 (= Grundz.Mitt. 142) [120]; *PLond.* II 298 [124]; *PTeht.* II 311 [134]; *PGiss.* I 29 [150]; *PMich.* VI 428 [154]; *BGU* II 446 (= Grundz.Mitt. 257) [158/9]; *PHamb.* I 39, no. 33 [179]; *PAmh.* II 102 [180]; *BGU* XI 2055 [II]; *PLond.* III 1164k [212]; *PSI* IX 1037 [301]; Grundz.Wilck. 434 [390]; *PLond* III 1023 [V/VI]; *StudPal.* I p. 7 (= col. ii) [454]; *PCair.Masp.* II 67306 [515]; *PMichael.* 43 [526]; *PCair.Masp.* II 67294 [535]; *PFloz.* III 283 [536]; *PErl.* 118 (no. 75, p. 84) [535–537]; *SB* V 8029 [538]; *PLond.* III 1007bc [558]; 67156 [570]; *SB* I 6000 [VI]; *PRoss.Georg.* V 34 [~600]; *SB* I 4669 [614]; *SB* VI 9595 [VII]. A general tendency for the usage of the compound ὑπογράφειν to serve as a substitute for the *verbum simplex* γράφειν to emphasize the action of signing a document can be observed in the papyri from the fourth century onwards. The fact that the attribute of someone as a ‘slow writer’ did not necessarily have to be a part of the subscription formula, can be demonstrated from the later documents (end of

All the examples controlled for their contents visualize a rather uniform picture: the 'slow writers' "...can write their names and generally can continue through two or three lines of writing if they are allowed sufficient time to trace out their invariably awkward letters."¹³ That a signature in one's own hand was indispensable and that it had the same status as an official sealing may be deduced from the many documents in which the illiterate or semi-literate formulae were employed. At the same time an autograph served to identify the participants in a contractual proceeding.¹⁴ Thus, βραδέως γράφοντες wrote their own names and occasionally some additional words in order to be identified properly. By doing so they distinguished themselves clearly from the completely ἀγράμματοι and conveyed at least a modicum of literacy. The quantity of what they wrote was far from large. But what they had in common with the ἀγράμματοι was that they were badly in need of a ὑπογραφεύς as well.¹⁵

The hands of those who were explicitly denominated as βραδέως γράφοντες in documentary texts in many cases were evaluated from a paleographical view as well. Of course, not every editor did describe the hands, so that just a selected range of paleographical judgments of the hands of the 'slow writers' can be presented here. Some examples should suffice to show what such evaluations have in

the fourth century); see, e.g.: Grundz. Wilck. 434; *Stud. Pal.* I p. 7 (col. ii); *PCair.Masp.* II 67297; 67306; *SB* VI 9595.

¹³ Youtie, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ', 210. See as well G. Vitelli's comments on *PFloz.* I 1 (also cited by Youtie): "Ora il padre Horion, che la assiste come kyrios, era bensì in grado di apporre una semplice firma, ma, come si vede dagli stentati suoi caratteri, era un βραδέως γράφων evidentemente incapace di scrivere lunghe proposizioni..."

¹⁴ See on that von Woess, *Untersuchungen*, 299–302; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 198 n. 117; Youtie, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ', 211–2; O. Krüger's comment on line 23 of *PRoss.Georg.* II 15 (64). That there was an emphasis on the writing of a subscription in one's own hand, i.e. as an autograph, becomes obvious from the evidence of many documents. A few examples should be sufficient to illustrate the γράφειν ἰδίᾳ χειρί or the γράφειν ἰδίῳις γράμμασιν: *SB* I 5681; *PRyl.* II 154; *POxy.* XVI 1894; *PMich.* X 585. The New Testament, too, contains similar expressions, which might be read on the background of the contractual proceedings mentioned ("Ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί. Gal 6:11; 'Ο ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὃ ἐστὶν σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ· οὕτως γράφω. 2Thess 3:17; ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί· Phlm 19). At least, the authenticity and by that the authority of Paul's own writing is emphasized there.

¹⁵ Cf. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 152–4; Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 173; Turner, 'Village Administration', 36. See as well von Woess, *Untersuchungen*, 298–300, and O. Krüger on line 23 of *PRoss.Georg.* II 15 (64), who asserts that a βραδέως γράφων had to add his own signature, while an ἀγράμματος was relieved from that duty because of his illiteracy. No matter, how slow people wrote, they had to add a brief subscription in their own hands.

common.¹⁶ The awkwardness, clumsiness, and the lack of practice of the hands is repeatedly emphasized: the letters are described as “written in rude uncials”,¹⁷ identified with “ungeschlachte isoliert stehende steife Schulbuchstaben”,¹⁸ or the writing on an ostrakon is evaluated as performed “in grossen, ungeschickten Buchstaben”.¹⁹ The βραδέως γράφοντες are characterized to have laboriously painted each single letter, which is somehow comparable to carved inscriptions.²⁰

These descriptions fit perfectly well the other aspects about those who are explicitly called βραδέως γράφοντες: (i) as far as contents and quantity are concerned they simply wrote their names, and occasionally some words by the means of which they could be identified later on and/or some expressions of consent;²¹ (ii) paleography usually stresses that they wrote their uncials slowly, clumsily, laboriously, in an unskilled manner, to mention only a few characteristics which are used to circumscribe the way they formed their letters. Thus, contents/quantity

¹⁶ For an extensive listing of documents which were not paleographically described by their editors and which are damaged or lacking subscriptions see: Youtie, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 248–9 and notes 42–43.

¹⁷ Paleographical description of *PRyl.* II 183a as given by the editors about the signature of a certain Μάρων in line 12 (226). The same paleographical judgment is made by G. Vitelli about the writing of a Ἀπολλώνιος in lines 41–43 of *PSI* IX 1037 (67): “...grossi e rozzi caratteri” (‘clumsy capital letters’). B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt spoke of “rough uncials” written by the ‘slow writer’ Στοτοήτης in line 24 of *P.Amh.* I 102.

¹⁸ O. Krüger on the third hand in *PRoss.Georg.* II 15, lines 35–37 (61).

¹⁹ U. Wilcken about the second hand on *O.Wilck.* II 757. Similarly, F. Krebs comments on the hand of Ἀκουσίλαος signing *BGU* II 543 (188): “Z 19–22 sind mit Uncialbuchstaben ungeschickt geschrieben.” (‘Lines 19–22 are written in clumsy uncials.’) A similar evaluation is given by J. Schwartz of the second hand in the lines 13–16 on *P.Sarap.* 12 (49): “La seconde main est très maladroite.”

²⁰ Cf. F. Preisigke on the third hand in line 19 on *P.Stras.* I 19 (65): “Die 3. Hand malt Buchstaben für Buchstaben in der Form der Steininschriften...” H.C. Youtie and O.M. Pearl commenting on *PMich.* VI 428 (137): “In the third [hand], each letter was laboriously formed, and the writer was unable to maintain a straight line...” O. Krüger (60–61): “Die vom βραδέως γράφων hingemalten Zeilen...” See as well the more general statement by Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 88, who emphasizes that ‘slow writers’ formed “their letters with difficulty.”

²¹ E.g. cited in diplomatic transcription: *PRyl.* II 183 (2nd hand, line 12): Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέχω; *PHamb.* I 39, no. 33 (2nd hand, line 21): Ἡλιοδωρος ἔλαβα ὡς πρόγινται; *P.Sarap.* 12 (2nd hand, lines 13–16): Παποντ(ὡς) Διοσκόρου ἡκώρασα καὶ ποιήσω πάντα ὡς πρόκειται; *O.Wilck.* II 757 (2nd hand, lines 10–11): Δάμων εὐδοκῶ τοῖς προγεγρα(μμένοις). *P.Stras.* I 19 (3rd hand, lines 19–20): Παποντὸς νεώτερος Ἡρακλήρου ἀπέχω τὴν τιμὴν καθὼς πρόκειται—I, Papontos, the younger Sohn of Herakles declare that the statement of account is correct as stated before.’ Especially the last example illustrates what a ‘slow writer’ could and had to write in order to be identified and to consent to the body of the document.

(i) and the way of writing/paleography (ii) can control and justify each other. Someone writing slowly and clumsily must have felt relieved from a heavy burden, when the whole or the greatest part of a subscription was done for him by a ὑπογραφεύς. Of course, someone who rarely and scarcely wrote at all automatically must have had an awkward and untrained hand, as can be seen on some of the plates in the editions or on the originals.²²

But what if any variant of the βραδέως γράφων formula is missing? May a hand then be called that of a ‘slow writer’ as well? At least this would mean that the judgment had to rely exclusively on paleographical observations, i.e. the way and style in which the letters were written. To come back to the example cited at the beginning of this study, Petaus is not denominated as a βραδέως γράφων in any of the documents in his archive. Nevertheless, his hand was described as “tiny irregular handwriting”²³ and his uncials are performed in a slow movement, one after the other without any ligatures, juxtapositions or the like. Nothing is left in his hand except his signature. All that taken together would fit very well the features for designating him as a βραδέως γράφων, even if he is nowhere directly addressed as one.

But then further questions will arise: if a hand is known by its short signature only, may this indicate anything about the person behind it? Or in other words, may someone who just wrote his name and perhaps a few further words be able to write even long and difficult texts?²⁴ Of course, there must be caution in judging plainly from the signatures in documents. The possibility of someone who wants to sign his contractual or legal proceedings with a subscription deliberately performed in a specific way must be taken into account. Moreover, the style of writing between two texts, two paragraphs, even two sentences may differ completely from each other, even if all of that is written by the same hand.²⁵

²² Lines 18–20 of *BGU* XI 2116 (pl. VIII) present the upright and irregular uncials of the third hand, which are discernibly different from the hand writing the body of the document. See as well: *PStras.* I 19 (pl. IV); *PMichael.* 43 (pl. II); *PRyl.* II 183a (pl. 4).

²³ Turner, ‘Village Administration’, 38. The same qualification is made by the editors of the Petaus archive about *PPetaus* 121 and all the other occurrences of Petaus’s signature.

²⁴ Cf. Turner, ‘Village Administration’, 33.

²⁵ See on that: Hagedorn, *PPetaus*, 34–35; Förster, ‘Das Verlangen der Elenden hörst du, Herr’, 141–6: H. Förster presents evidence for the identification of two apparently different hands as those of the same scribe. One time this scribe was in a hurry, the next time he wrote he had enough time to form his letters elaborately and more slowly.

But theory is no use without practice, and that is why some examples should help to elucidate the problems that might occur. A papyrus preserves the signatures of many of the bishops who participated in the council of Constantinople in the year 680, which is also called *Trullanum* I.²⁶ Many bishops wrote their names and the prescribed formula in uncial letters, some more upright, others more cursive. It seems that some even tried to present a stylization of their handwriting and employed a minuscule cursive. Some hands may be compared with those of some βραδέως γράφοντες and thought to be similar to them; others may appear as if someone was trying to convey the image of a well-trained and skilled scribe.²⁷ In short, any conclusion from any style of writing preserved on this list of signatures to the fitness of the person behind it could be misleading. Of course, the way the letters are formed is to be described (upright, cursive, slow, with ligatures, juxtapositions, and so on), but any further judgment could be dangerous, if it is understood as ultimate and sincere.

Nonetheless, it can be seen by the more than five hundred original signatures on a list of ἑξάρχαι that such a judgment is occasionally possible and essential for an appropriate discussion of a manuscript.²⁸ Despite its late date of 1357 many samples can be given of people still writing unconnected uncials, even mixing them with minuscules within the same line, and somehow laboriously shaping their letters. The difference between those and the occasionally calligraphic writing of most of the ten ἑξάρχαι is striking. Probably, those writing unconnected uncials never really learned how to write properly or quickly forgot it, because they lacked practice. Somehow, cautious judgments about class and education might be acceptable here and could lead to further insights.²⁹

That can explain the difference between more upright and more cursive letters as well as between larger and smaller ones.

²⁶ *P.Vindob.G* 3, edited by Kollar, *Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Commentariorum*, 863–870 (with facsimile). A small part can be seen in: Wattenbach, *Schrifttafeln*, plate IX.

²⁷ See on that: Riedinger, *Die Präsenz- und Subskriptionslisten*: R. Riedinger takes into account that *P.Vind.gr.* 3 might not present the original signatures, but might have been the work of a skilled copyist of that time (11). van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 1219; Wessely, 'Die griechischen Papyri', 24–27; von Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 177–8; Hunger, 'Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen', 92. Even a brief glance at the uncial signatures and their various styles may illustrate the difficulties in judging from the letter form only. See, for instance, the signatures depicted on the plate by Wattenbach, *Schrifttafeln*, pl. IX.

²⁸ *P.Vindob.G* 47.

²⁹ See Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, 82–85: H. Hunger presents some plates in order to visualize his deductions.

Again the qualification of ‘writing slowly’ together with the small extent of writing, i.e. only a signature each, could bring forth the designation as βραδέως γράφοντες, even if these people are not directly addressed as such. On the basis of the few words they wrote and the way they wrote them, these writers appear very similar to those who are directly addressed as ‘slow writers’ in the documentary papyri.

If paleography is regarded as a primary source for the description and the assessment of a hand, which without any doubt this scientific discipline is, literary papyri can be taken into account here as well. The *verso* of a papyrus from the second century found in Oxyrhynchos carries some parts of Plato’s *Gorgias*.³⁰ The writing conveys an image of regularity. Nonetheless, the elaborately formed letters are slowly written inasmuch as the uncials are almost upright and separately formed, and ligatures as well as juxtapositions are widely lacking. To accept this hand as that of a βραδέως γράφων would be misleading, because of the quite regular way of forming the letters and the extent of the text, at least three columns with about forty-five lines each, partly preserved on the papyrus. The same counts for the private letter sent by a certain Hermodoros to the official Theophanes.³¹ Its paleographical characterization (e.g.: “It is a slowly-written, bold, medium to large capital, having a right slant to the right.”)³² would meet the prerequisites of the hand for being a βραδέως γράφων as far as the shape of the uncials and the way of writing are concerned. But again, as aforesaid, the length of the text as well as the considerable regularity of the letters would contradict such a qualification, even if the mostly separated letters are formed slowly. These two literary texts exemplify the requirements for a legitimate attribution of a hand as a βραδέως γράφων. The two hands ‘writing slowly’ even appear to have performed their writings in a more controlled and skilled way than some definitely faster and more trained scribe has.³³

³⁰ POxy. III 454 *verso* with Plato *Gorg.* 507–508. The *recto* presents a money account in Latin written in a cursive hand probably of the second century. See the paleographical description by: Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, no. 62 = 106–7.

³¹ PHerm. 5 [~325].

³² Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, no. 70 = 118–9. Turner’s notion that the appearance of the papyrus could remind of that of a classical writing or a biblical hand has to be welcomed, above all with regard to some of the Bodmer or Chester Beatty Biblical papyri.

³³ Cf. Youtie, ‘Βραδέως γράφων’, 251 n. 57, 258–9, who refers to PMich. V 252 (= PSI VIII 905), in which Zenon added his own subscription in a clumsy hand and is not designated as a βραδέως γράφων, while it is asserted that the likewise awkward but superior

Assuming that a βραδέως γράφων is someone who wrote slowly, who wrote only a few words in uncials, and who formed clumsy, bulky, and irregular letters, why not compare him then to a schoolboy? The unskilled writing of youths carved on waxed wooden tablets might lead the observer to take these as suitable hands for comparison. Then, as has been the case with a wood tablet from the second century C.E.,³⁴ school exercises are simply taken as written by the hands of 'slow writers' and by that they are categorized identically with the βραδέως γράφοντες of many documentary papyri.³⁵ Of course, the way of shaping letters, i.e. 'writing slowly' with great effort and irregularity, could be enticing for someone in order to accept these school hands as βραδέως γράφοντες too easily.

Such an identification, however, would leave a decisive methodological problem unsolved. The letters formed by a learner at school are just written in a transitional phase within his process of acquiring the skills of reading and writing. His hand will change and parallel to his learning progress will improve, will be more secure, trained, and probably more regular one day. Unlike that, the βραδέως γράφοντες are adults who might have learned these skills once, but will never improve and always remain 'slow writers', be it at the moment of writing their signatures on the documents or later on in their lives. Or, in other words, the βραδέως γράφοντες as presented by the documentary papyri will always be βραδέως γράφοντες, and so they may be classified as a fixed group or class. The learners at school must not be strictly categorized, for their standard of writing as shown on school tablets or exercises is still in process.³⁶

writing of Didymos—a single ὑπογραφή was written for the two brothers Didymos and Apollonios, the latter characterized as an illiterate (μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα)—is that of someone writing slowly (βρατύτερα γράφειν, as spelt in line 9). To this picture *PMich.* VI 428, the sale of a house in 154, may attest likewise. Both the third and the fourth hand on the papyrus formed their letters comparably clumsy and laboriously, albeit only the third is denominated as a βραδέως γράφων.

³⁴ The waxed wood tablet referred to here was published and discussed as *B.M. Add. MS.* 34186 (I) by Kenyon, 'Two Greek School-Tablets', 39–40; Turner, 'Athenians learn to write', 67–69 and plate V; Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, no. 4 = 32–33.

³⁵ The identification of a school hand with the class of the 'slow writers', οἱ βραδέως γράφοντες, was carried out by: Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 2; Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 88–89; Hunger, '7Q5: Markus 6,52–53—oder?', 34–35.

³⁶ Cf. Youtie, 'Βραδέως γράφων', 251 and 'Between Literacy', 486, against E.G. Turner's and H. Hunger's positivism (see *supra* n. 35). The same can be argued against the treatment of school exercises as equivalent to the subscriptions of βραδέως γράφοντες in documents, when *P.Oxy.* III 425 [III] is taken into account. The awk-

Thus, and that should be considered as a suggestion in order to provide more clarity for and practicability of a classification, the term βραδέως γράφων or 'slow writer' ought to be applied to someone who wrote his name and maybe a few further words, and did that in a specific way, which is to be described paleographically as clumsy, irregular, upright, separately written uncials to mention only a few characteristics. Albeit a school hand may be taken as similar to that of a βραδέως γράφων, it should not be accepted as belonging to that class. A schoolboy writes at a specific stage within his own learning process and thus will be improving somewhere and somehow, whereas the 'slow writer' of the documents will usually not change his writing skill anymore.

One more aspect could be cited as evidence against the classification of a school hand under the heading βραδέως γράφοντες: the designation in the documentary papyri or ostraca might imply something about status, profession, class, and educational standard of the person writing. As a contrast to that, not only a schoolboy's learning is in process but also his education, and perhaps his professional and social status may change as well later on.³⁷ Furthermore, the two literary papyri presented earlier³⁸ show that an application of the classification βραδέως γράφων or its English equivalent 'slow writer' could cause severe problems, because the way of writing is exclusively concentrated upon, and each of the two texts is of respectable length. So they will definitely not fulfill the requirements of belonging to the class of βραδέως γράφοντες as characterised above. When referring to such texts, it could be of help if the category 'slow writer' or βραδέως γράφοντες is clearly distinguished from the way of shaping letters, which could be expressed in such terms as 'written slowly', 'written without ligatures', 'written with separated letters', or the like, adjusted to the papyrus or ostrakon under discussion.

One last example visualizes the necessity of careful and reflected judgments. A small scrap of papyrus found as the fifth papyrus in the seventh cave of Qumran, listed as 7Q5, has caused some annoyance

ward, irregular, and cumbersome capital letters banned the otherwise unknown song of boatmen on the Nile in eleven lines on papyrus. Probably, this text is a writing exercise performed in school.

³⁷ On some reflections on class, social status, and educational standard of the βραδέως γράφοντες, see: Calderini, 'Gli ἀγράμματοι', 25–26; Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 173 and 'Between Literacy', 486–7; Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 151–4.

³⁸ *POxy.* III 454 and *PHerm.* 5 (see supra n. 30 and 31).

for some, and great fascination for others. In 1972 the suggestion of identifying the few letters preserved on 7Q5 with a text of the Gospel of Mark (Mark 6:52–53) was brought forth.³⁹ Of course, this is not the place to discuss the pros and cons in this long lasting encounter over the small fragment, its decipherment, and the most probable reading.⁴⁰ But whenever a reconstruction is suggested, caution has to be applied, as the case of some papyrus fragments kept in Vienna, *P.Vindob.G* 25199, 41406, 41407, 41413, illustrate.⁴¹ Of major interest here is what has been said about the 7Q5 fragment from a paleographical view. The hand was determined as ‘Zierstil’ in the *editio princeps* because of the small hooks or ticks on the sides of the uncial letters.⁴² Moreover, a

³⁹ Unfortunately, a scientific approach to the problems caused by this proposal had occasionally given way to heated and polemic verbal quarrels between those who champion and those who reject the suggested identification. The hypothesis 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53 was brought forth with other identifications for fragments found in cave seven by O’Callaghan, ‘¿Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumrán?’, 91–100, and attested in many other articles referred to by O’Callaghan himself in ‘Sobre el papiro de Marcos en Qumrán’, 191–7. The hypothesis is vehemently championed and defended by Thiede, ‘7Q’, 538–59; *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript?*, esp. 1–10, 23–41.

⁴⁰ For the pros and cons so far out of the many studies besides the aforesaid by J. O’Callaghan and C.P. Thiede (supra n. 39), see, for instance, the articles in Mayer (supra n. 35); Pickering/Cook, *Has a Fragment of the Gospel of Mark been found at Qumrán?*; Price, *Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 183–90.—There are several exhortations for careful judgments about the very small fragment to be brought forth here. See, for instance: Roberts, ‘On some presupposed papyrus fragments’, 446: “In principle, the smaller a fragment is, the more complete the identification must be (especially in the absence of a proper name or *terminus technicus*), and the less must it assume any irregularity in the text or involve any tampering with the evidence of the papyrus.” A further reminder might be the *lex Youtie*, according to which an alteration of the preserved letters directly next to *lacunae* or another distortion of a papyrus or inscription should be rejected in preference to an argumentation with great caution. Cf. Merkelbach, ‘Lex Youtie’, 294.

⁴¹ An identification and a reconstruction should be regarded as hypothetical. On the basis of six lines and the sequences of some complete words P. Sanz edited, identified, and reconstructed *P.Vindob.G* 25199 with Ode 8 (= Daniel 3:662–66). The identification was confirmed after *P.Vindob.G* 41406 (together with *P.Vindob.G* 41407 and 41413 treated as a single fragment) could be added as belonging to the same papyrus, and a more secure edition and reconstruction was possible (Ode 8 = Daniel 8:62–73). Sanz’s work, done with great caution and backed by a considerable number of complete words and arguments, had to be corrected, the distribution of lines and words had to be altered on the basis of the witness *P.Vindob.G* 41406. Cf. Sanz, *Griechische literarische Papyri* I, 53–54; Treu/Diethart, *Griechische literarische Papyri* II, no. 7 = 20–21 and pl. VI.—Many thanks go to H. Förster of the ‘Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien’, for bringing this example to my knowledge and illustrating the way Sanz reached his conclusions.

⁴² Cf. Baillet/Milik/De Vaux, *Les ‘Petites Grottes’*, 144. R.P. Boismard’s decipherment with critical notes is presented on the same page. According to W. Schubart the decorated style (‘Zierstil’) is to be found between 50 B.C.E.–C.E. 50. Nonetheless

highly respected papyrologist applied the classification *βραδέως γράφων* to the Greek document under discussion relying on the lack of cursive features and the low aesthetic degree of the writing as a whole. At the same time the hand of 7Q5 was paralleled with those of learners at school in order to establish that there is nothing extraordinary in the shaping of the same letter in a totally different way within the same document.⁴³

Nevertheless, the majuscules—if a judgment on the basis of the few well-preserved letters is justified at all—are ‘written slowly’, somehow with effort. But the denomination as *βραδέως γράφων* keeps the same problems as presented above. Those scholars arguing in favour of the hypothetical identification assume that the transitional verses on 7Q5 indicate that the whole Gospel of Mark or at least a longer passage out of it might have been written on the lost roll the fragment belonged to. If this hypothesis is followed, the two narratives framing Mark 6:52–53 must have once been there, too. Writing two verses which are not of much interest as far as their contents and their theological significance are concerned would not make much sense to a copyist or someone writing an amulet or the like for himself. Thus, a longer text with 7Q5 as a part of it was propagated by the promoters of the identification. But this assumption would contradict the classification as a *βραδέως γράφων*, because as shown before this category strictly implies that a writer hardly wrote anything except his name and possibly a few further words. However, it implies as well some aspects about his social, professional, and educational status, even if there must be caution in judging that, and an automatic exclusion of those from higher classes who could neither write nor read is quite problematic.⁴⁴

No doubt, categorizing the few majuscules on the small papyrus fragment, taken as a literary text by those calling for the acceptance of the identification, as the hand of a ‘slow writer’, a *βραδέως γράφων*, could be misleading, even if the paleographical description ‘written slowly’ or ‘written with some effort’ may be an accurate circumscription

such a dating always leaves room for a possible earlier or later date, too. Cf. Schubart, *Griechische Paleographie*, 111–5.

⁴³ Hunger, ‘7Q5’, 34–35, in the original (34): “In der Papyrologie hat sich für solche wenig schreibgewandte Typen die Bezeichnung *βραδέως γράφων*, „Langamschreiber“ eingebürgert.”

⁴⁴ See on that Youtie, ‘*Βραδέως γράφων*’, 260–1; Youtie, ‘Between Literacy’, 486–7; Youtie, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 201, 220–221; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 279–280; Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 151–4.

here. Consequently, it is to be hoped that the pondering of the usage of βραδέως γράφων or ‘slow writer’ with its many implications as a term of classification might be of use for further discussions about this category in documentary papyri and ostraca; likewise the use of ‘written slowly’ or similar terms should be restricted to literary texts and applied with the utmost care. In order to bring forth further cautious arguments and an increasing number of aspects and details, when invaluable ancient witnesses on papyri, ostraca, or the like are dealt with, it is strongly intended that all of this remain only a suggestion to be argued against and criticized.

Addenda

For the topics ‘(il)literacy’ and any relevant formulae and phrasing, above all in documentary papyri, the case of Petaus, ‘reading and writing’ in general and ‘socio-cultural implications’ in particular as well as applications of these to actually literary texts I refer to the preceding study ‘7—(Il)literacy in Non-literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects to the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times’ and the following two ‘9—‘Uneducated’, ‘ignorant’, or even ‘illiterate’? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4.13’ and ‘10—John 7:15b: “Knowing letters” and (Il)literacy’ and the *addenda* sections there.

Of the documentary papyri mainly addressed in this study those kept in the Papyrus-Collection in Cologne (*PPetaus* 11, 46, 60, 114, and 121) are accessible online (go to <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie>; last access 06/11/2006), where color images and brief descriptions are offered. This is of particular significance for a paleographical investigation into the two papyri *PPetaus* 114 and 121, on which the illiterate ‘village scribe’ Petaus trained his signature. The Advanced Papyrological Information System, APIS (hosted by Columbia University; <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis>; last access 06/15/2006) offers descriptions, but no images, of *PPetaus* 47 (= *PMich. Inv.* 6875).

In this study I tackled the (in)famous papyrus fragment 7Q5, most of all paleographically. For additional information, see my ‘13—7Q5—*status quaestionis* and fundamental remarks to qualify the discussion of the papyrus fragment’ later in this volume.

Above I employed the example of *PVindob.G* 25199, 41406, 41407, 41413 to indicate how difficult and transitory reconstructions may be. Hans Förster, to whom I owe this knowledge, has recently described a similar case, again referring to Peter Sanz’s meticulous work: “Peter Sanz had one half of a piece of papyrus measuring 12 cm by 14.5 cm which he published in his doctoral dissertation. In six lines, more than 130 letters can be read without any doubt; thus we have an average of more than 20 letters per line, while only a few letters are unclear. There are no lacunae which would be a problem for the identification of single words, thus there is no dispute about the words which were read by this gifted papyrologist. Sanz gave a very thorough commentary on this piece and convincingly reconstructed the text . . . The second half of the papyrus was later found, making this piece larger than Sanz had estimated. Thus, his entire identification and analysis are wrong, even though he read the existing passages correctly.”⁴⁵ The papyrus Förster is writing about and of which Sanz had only one part available then⁴⁶ has the inventory number *PVindob.G* 26041. Kurt Treu and Johannes Diethart reedited the papyrus, i.e. the two joint fragments, re-dated it, reconstructed its text anew, and identified it as a *Chairetismos*.⁴⁷

In an article about *PVindob.G* 42417 with Heb 2:9–11 (recto) and 3:3–6 (verso) Karl Jaroš used the term βραδέως γράφων for qualifying the scribe’s hand.⁴⁸ This is not only surprising as the first editor, Amphilochius Papathomas, described the hand in a totally different way, but also because the mostly upright letters are performed in a certain speed that is far from that of a “Langsamschreiber” (‘slow writer’) and evidently reveals at least some kind of training and practice on the scribe’s side.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Förster, ‘7Q5 = Mark 6.52–53’, 32.

⁴⁶ Cf. Sanz, *Christliche Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung*, no. 28 = 172–8.

⁴⁷ See Treu/Diethart, *Griechische literarische Papyri* II, no. 37 = 70–71 (and plate 23).

⁴⁸ Cf. Jaroš, ‘Ein neues Fragment des Hebräerbriefes’, 273.

⁴⁹ See the description of the hand by Papathomas, ‘A New Testimony to the Letter to the Hebrews’, 19–24, and the detailed criticism of Jaroš’ methodologically dubious assertions and conclusions concerning *PVindob.G* 42417 by Förster, ‘Heilige Namen in Heiligen Texten’, 321–4.

Bibliography

- Baillet, M./Milik, J.T./De Vaux, R., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran. Exploration de falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre: Textes.* (DJD III; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).
- Calderini, R., 'Gli ἀργάμματοι nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aeg* 30 (1950) 14–41.
- Exler, F.J., *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri (3rd c. B.C.–3rd c. A.D.)* (Washington D.C.: Diss., Catholic Univ. of America, 1923, repr. Chicago: Ares, 1976).
- Förster, H., '7Q5 = Mark 6.52–53: A Challenge for Textual Criticism?', *JGRChJ* [<http://divinity.mcmaster.ca/jgrchj/home>] 2 (2001–2005) 27–35.
- , 'Das Verlangen der Elenden hörst du, Herr. Ein neues Wiener Septuagintafragment auf Papyrus: Psalm 9,39f.', *Biblos* 43 (1994) 141–6.
- , 'Heilige Namen in Heiligen Texten', *AW* 33 (2002) 321–4.
- Harris, W.V., *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge/Mass.-London: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Hunger, H., '7Q5: Markus 6,52–53—oder? Die Meinung des Papyrologen,' in B. Mayer (ed.), *Christen und Christliches in Qumran.* (Eichstätter Studien 32; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1992) 34–56.
- , 'Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen', in: idem *et al.* (eds.), *Die Textüberlieferung der antiken Literatur und der Bibel* (Munich: Beck, ²1988) 27–71.
- , *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Munich: Beck, 1989).
- Jaroš, K., 'Ein neues Fragment des Hebräerbriefes', *AW* 32 (2001) 271–3.
- Kenyon, F.G., 'Two Greek School-Tablets', *JHS* 29 (1909) 39–40.
- Kollar, A.F., *Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis liber octavus* (Editio altera; Vienna: Joan. Thomae nob. de Trattuern, 1782).
- Majer-Leonhard, E., *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ in Aegypto qui litteras sciverint qui nesciverint ex papyris graecis quantum fieri postes exploratus* (Frankfurt a.M.: Diekmann, 1913).
- Merkelbach, R., 'Lex Youtie', *ΣΠΕ* 38 (1980) 294.
- Montevecchi, O., *La papirologia* (2nd ed.; Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1988).
- O'Callaghan, J., '¿Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumran?', *Bib.* 53 (1972) 91–100.
- , 'Sobre el papiro de Marcos en Qumrán', *FilNeot* 5 (1992) 191–7.
- Papathomas, A., 'A New Testimony to the Letter to the Hebrews', *JGRChJ* 1 (2000) 18–24.
- Pickering, S.R./Cook, R.R.E., *Has a Fragment of the Gospel of Mark been found at Qumran?* (Papyrology and Historical Perspectives 1; Sydney: Macquarie University Press, 1989).
- Price, R., *Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Eugene/Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 1996).
- Riedinger, R., *Die Präsenz- und Subskriptionslisten des VI. oekumenischen Konzils (680/81) und der Papyrus Vind.G. 3.* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 85; Munich: Verlag Bayerische Akad. der Wiss., 1979).
- Roberts, C.H., 'On some presupposed papyrus fragments of the New Testament from Qumran', *JTS* 23 (1972) 446–7.
- Sanz, P., *Christliche Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek zu Wien: Inaugural-dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde einer hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien* (Diss., unpubl.; Vienna, 1936).
- , *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes I. Biblica, Väterschriften und Verwandtes* (MPER N.S. IV; Baden/Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1946).
- Schneider, J.S., 'The Extent of Illiteracy in Oxyrhynchos and Its Environment in the Late Third Century B.C.E.', *CJ* 28 (1933) 670–74.

- Schubart, W., *Griechische Paleographie*. (HAW 1.4.1; Munich: Beck, 1925, repr. 1966).
- Thiede, C.P., '7Q—Eine Rückkehr zu den neutestamentlichen Papyrusfragmenten in der siebten Höhle von Qumran', *Bib* 65 (1984) 538–59.
- , *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript? The Qumran Papyrus 7Q5 and its Significance for New Testaments Studies* (Guernsey: The Paternoster Press, 1992).
- Thomas, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Treu, K./Diethart, J., *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes II. Textband und Tafelband* (MPER N.S. XVII; Wien: Brüder Hollinek, 1993).
- Turner, E.G., 'Athenians learn to write: Plato, Protagoras 326d', *BICS* 12 (1965) 67–9.
- , 'Village Administration in the Roman Empire in the Second Century', in: idem, *The Papyrologist at Work*. (GRBS Monograph 6; Durham: Duke University, 1973).
- , *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (ed. P.J. Parsons) (BICS.S 46; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987).
- , *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).
- von Gardthausen, V., *Griechische Palaeographie* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1879).
- von Woess, F., *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Ägypten*. (Münchner Beiträge 6; Munich: Beck, 1924).
- Wattenbach, W., *Schrifttafeln zur Geschichte der griechischen Schrift und zum Studium der griechischen Palaeographie*. Berlin: G. Grote, 1876).
- Wessely, K., 'Die griechischen Papyri der kaiserlichen Sammlungen Wiens', *Elfter Jahresbericht über das k.k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien* (1884/1885).
- Youtie, H.C., 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt', *HSCP* 75 (1971) 161–76 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae II*, 611–27).
- , 'Between Literacy and Illiteracy: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt', *PapCongr.* XIII, 481–7.
- , 'Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239–61 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae II*, 629–66).
- , 'Pétaus, fils de Pétaus, ou le scribe qui ne savait pas écrire', *CEg* 41 (1966) 127–43 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae II*, 677–95).
- , *Scriptiunculae II* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).
- , *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I* (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).
- , 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ζPE* 17 (1975) 201–21 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, 179–99).

CHAPTER NINE

‘UNEDUCATED’, ‘IGNORANT’, OR EVEN ‘ILLITERATE’? ASPECTS AND BACKGROUND FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (AND ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) IN ACTS 4:13*

Ἐγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγράμματος (ὄντος)—‘I wrote for him who is illiterate’. The vast number of non-literary papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt presents various formulae for subscriptions in documents in the case when someone wrote on behalf of someone else.¹ Among these the cited form together with its variants constitutes one specific type.² So-called ὑπογραφεῖς signed deeds, letters, or other documents in contractual and juridical proceedings for those who were incapable of writing. The illiterates then just had to add their names, if at all, and sometimes a few characteristic words in order to be properly identified

* Originally published as ‘Uneducated’, ‘ignorant’, or even ‘illiterate’? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ἀγράμματοι (and ἰδιῶται) in Acts 4.13’, *NTS* 45 (1999) 434–49. Used with kind permission.

¹ Three major formulae types can be found in documents in which a ὑπογραφεύς, a person writing on behalf of somebody else, formed the indispensable subscription for someone writing slowly or being completely illiterate. They may be classified as follows: (a) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγράμματος (ὄντος)—‘I wrote for him who is illiterate’, (b) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα—‘I wrote for him who does not know letters’, and (c) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βραδέως γράφοντος—‘I wrote for him who writes slowly’. These are only types, i.e. many variants similar to the three types can be found. See on these formulae Cf. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 69–73; R. Calderini, ‘Gli ἀγράμματοι’, 14–41; Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, 124–6.

² The following papyri should give an impression of the widespread usage of this formula over several centuries. Roman letters in square brackets indicate the century, Arabic numerals the year of origin, where all dates are A.D. Small Roman letters stand for the column of a document. *POxy.* II 275 [66]; *SB* V 7998 [I/II]; *PHamb.* I 71 [149]; *Stud.Pal.* XXII 40; *PAthen.* 27 [both 150]; *PVars.* 10 i [~ 156]; *BGU* I 152 [158/9]; *Stud.Pal.* XII [166]; *PSI* VIII 96A [176/8]; *PMil.Vogl.* II 71 [161–180]; *PAmh.* II 102 [180]; *BGU* I 118 ii [188/9]; *SB* III 6293 [195/6]; *PSI* X 1116; 1117; *PVars.* 8 [all three II]; *P.Bour.* 28 [II^{end}]; *SB* IV 7375 [222–235]; *PMich.* V 614 [256]; *PCair.* *Isid.* 2 [298], 3, 4 [299] etc.; *POxy.* I 71 i [303] *PSI* IX 1038 [313] *PMert.* II 91 [316], 92 [324]; *PAmh.* II 138 [324]; *POxy.* I 133 [550], 140 [550], 134 [569], 137 [584]; *PAmh.* II 150 [592]; *PKöln* III 158 [599]; *PAmh.* II 149 [VI]; *P.Oxy.* I [612]. Even waxed wood boards, *tabulae ceratae*, as shown by *PSI* IX 1027 (ll. 19–20: a subscription for an illiterate woman), and ostraca supply us with illiterate formulae. See, on the reconstruction of the lives of ordinary people from non-literary papyri, Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, esp. 46–135.

as the partner mentioned in the body of the document above. Such a ὑπογραφεύς, in most cases a close relative, a friend, or a trustworthy professional scribe, not only signed for someone else, he also had to fulfil the task of proofreading the whole document. This became necessary to avoid that an illiterate, an ἀγράμματος, was deceived, because he himself could not check the contents of the document he signed, i.e. the obligations and claims he agreed to. Thus, among their many functions the ὑπογράφεις enabled illiterates to participate in contractual and juridical proceedings as equal partners, and by this means they eliminated many of the disadvantages an illiterate person in Graeco-Roman Egypt might have had to endure.³

The New Testament confronts us with a case of people described as being ἀγράμματοι. In Acts 4:13 the members of the Sanhedrin—the collective term used in v. 15 to include the rulers, elders, scribes, and priests from verses 5–6—speak of Peter and John: ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται. Peter and John as ‘illiterate men’? May the meaning and understanding of ἀγράμματος in the papyri simply be transferred to this passage of the New Testament? That would at least be a quick and easy solution to the question at stake. But of course this is not the end to the discussion. In the New Testament ἀγράμματος is found only in Acts 4:13 and thus no other usage of this word can be related to the verse in question in order to make its exact lexicographical meaning there clear. The semantics of a word which is used only once in a longer context is problematic, above all when the thoughts and the ways of thinking of people from earlier times are concerned. And there is more to Greek words than just being translated into another language in a rather brief and precise way. What did the words mean then? What connotations did the early listeners or readers associate with them? Can one get any information about the educational, social, or intellectual status of Peter and John from the usage in Acts 4:13? The aim of this brief study is to offer a consideration of what Acts 4:13 implied then, and to discuss what information can be filtered out of the verse for the reader of today. The reflections on ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται and its surrounding context will hopefully lead not only to a translation into another language, which is usually meant to be as

³ On illiteracy in papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt see R. Calderini, ‘Gli ἀγράμματοι’, 14–41; Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*; Youtie, ‘ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ’, 161–76; idem, ‘βραδέως φράφον’, 240–43; idem, ‘ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ’, 201–21. See the reprints of Youtie’s articles in his *Scriptunculae* II and *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I.

fitting and precise as possible, but to a widening of the socio-cultural knowledge about former times.⁴

1. ὁ ἰδιώτης—*its meanings and usages according to divergent sources*

The second element in the description of the two apostles in Acts 4.13, ὁ ἰδιώτης, seems to cause little difficulty. Generally speaking, this word refers to every layman in contrast to a specialist, no matter which area of life is concerned. Classical authors present an ἰδιώτης in contrast to a king or a ruler,⁵ to a philosopher, physician, rhetorician, or intellectual.⁶ Even more evidence can be given for ἰδιώτης as an individual compared with the state and a private person compared with an official.⁷ All these meanings are supported by a vast number of papyri and inscriptions, although the latter two meanings, the individual and private person, represent the biggest portion of such witnesses.⁸ Summing up, there is general agreement that the noun ἰδιώτης describes "...a person who has not acquired systematic information or expertise in some field of knowledge or activity—'layman, ordinary person, amateur.'"⁹

The other five occurrences of ἰδιώτης in the New Testament (the LXX just gives ἰδιωτικός for 'private' in 2 Macc 4:3,6) may be instructive here. Besides Acts 4:13 only the two letters to the Corinthians contain the word. 2 Cor 11:16 probably offers the most unambiguous use of ἰδιώτης, because it is further qualified by a dative object (*dativus respectus*: 'in which respect?'): ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ. In this self-designation

⁴ Because of the overwhelming majority of witnesses against the reading of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (omit ἰδιώται), a discussion of textual variants in Acts 4:1–13 will not be undertaken in this study. Probably the scribe of D at this point felt that the double qualification of the two apostles could be seen as too offensive. See on that Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 277–8.

⁵ Herodotus 2.81, 7.199; *Ep. Arist.* 288–9; Philo *Flacc.* 118; *Leg. Gai.* 51; *Spec. Leg.* 4.8, 218; *Virt.* 216; Jos. *Bell.* 1.209, 387, 432, 665; *Ant.* 3.232, 8.24, 14.258, 17.192, 231.

⁶ Plutarch *Mor.* 776E; Epictetus 3.7.1: philosopher; Thucydides 2.48.3, Epictetus 3.7.1: physician; Isocrates 4.11; Lucian *Iupp. Trag.* 27: rhetorician; Lucian *Lex.* 25, Jos. *Bell.* 6.295: intellectual.

⁷ Herodotus 7.3; Thucydides 1.115, 4.2; Theaetetus 168b; Plato *Cra.* 385; *Polit.* 259b; Philo *Spec. Leg.* 1.228; Jos. *Ant.* 2.271, 3.226.

⁸ For references Kießling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden I*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

⁹ Louw/Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon* 1, chap. 27 no. 26. To mention only a few, this notion is shared by Schlier, 'ἰδιώτης', 215–7; Bartsch, 'ἰδιώτης', 423–4. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, and its earlier English translation, Gingrich/Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon*²; LSJ⁹; Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*.

Paul presents himself as a layman, an amateur unskilled or untrained in speech.¹⁰ Again the word is determined by a contrast. This may also help in understanding 1 Cor 14:16, where the word describes somebody as being the opposite of one who is blessed with the spirit (εὐλογῆς [ἐν] πνεύματι—second person singular in its non-personal, generalizing function). Whether the ἰδιώτης here denotes a non-Christian participant, or simply a listener who is overcome by the ecstatic talking of others, remains a matter to be discussed elsewhere. What is more important here is that again the appropriate meaning of the word in its context is indicated by a contrast.¹¹

The two occurrences in 1 Cor 14:23–4 show a closer similarity to Acts 4:13. Both times an adjective used as a noun is grouped together with a proper noun: ἰδιῶται ἢ ἄπιστοι (v. 23: adjective—noun) and ἄπιστοι ἢ ἰδιῶται (v. 24: noun—adjective).¹² This corresponds at least formally to the structure of Acts 4:13: ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται (adjective—noun, with verb in intermediate position). But the conjunction ἢ correlates the two words with each other as synonyms, whereas they are both used in opposition to the whole church in Corinth (ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη, v. 23), which is pinpointed by its actions: its members are speaking in tongues (πάντες λαλῶσιν γλώσσαις, v. 23) and they are prophesying (πάντες προφητεύουσιν, v. 24), things the ἰδιῶται did not do.¹³

In short, its five occurrences in the New Testament indicate that the word ἰδιώτης has the meaning of a layman or an amateur in a particular field, but always as the exact opposite of another expression. Thus, only a contrast defines the explicit meaning of ἰδιώτης. It is the surrounding context which determines with what person(s) ἰδιώτης is contrasted at

¹⁰ See on this Louw/Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon* 1, 27.26; Bartsch, 'ἰδιώτης', 423–4: Such a self-qualification was quite usual within a rhetorical strategy as can be seen in Hippolytus *Philosophumena* 8.18.1: ἰδιῶται τὴν γνῶσιν; Justinus *Apologia* 1.39.3, 60.11: ἰδιῶται as a contrast to βάρβαροι. See as well Epictetus 3.9.14: οὐδὲν ἦν ὁ Ἐπικτήτος, ἐσολοικίζεν, ἐβαρβάριζεν.

¹¹ On 1 Cor 14.16 see Schlier, 'ἰδιώτης', 217. For an overview of the discussion, see Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 290–1. Probably influenced by the other occurrences of ἰδιώτης in 1 Cor 14:23–24 Louw/Nida interpret it in 1 Cor 14:16 as denoting somebody as 'ordinary, uninitiated', and not yet fully instructed in Christianity, but as being similar to the inquirers or catechumens: Louw/Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon* 1, 27.26.

¹² Of its 23 occurrences in 21 verses of the New Testament, ἄπιστος was used eleven times in 1 Cor alone (6:6; 7:13, 13, 14, 15; 10:27; 14:22, 23, 24), but only in 1 Cor 14:23–24 together with ἰδιώτης.

¹³ See Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 295; Schlier, 'ἰδιώτης', 217; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*⁶.

all and, then, what its precise meaning may be.¹⁴ Further remarks on that 'precise meaning' in the context of Acts 4:13 will be discussed later, after the more problematic ἀγράμματος has been considered.

2. ἀγράμματος—a hapax legomenon of the New Testament and how to come closer to its significance

Unfortunately, ἀγράμματος only occurs once within the whole—canonical—New Testament, and can therefore be called a *hapax legomenon*.¹⁵ Further, it is completely absent from the LXX. Thus, no help can be gained from its usage at other places in biblical writings, at least as far as the canonical ones are concerned. Again a look at the papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt may be helpful in this respect. While the non-literary papyri identify an ἀγράμματος as someone who is incapable of writing and reading in the subscription formulae formed by a ὑπογραφεύς,¹⁶ they emphasize at other places that someone learns or once learnt letters, a usage also shown by classical authors (γράμματα διδάσκειν, ἐπίστασθαι, μανθάνειν or παιδεύειν).¹⁷ Isa 29:11–12 may also be given here as a biblical reference, where a form of דע ספר is used to stress that someone is literate (v. 11) or illiterate (v. 12;

¹⁴ Cf. Schlier, 'ιδιώτης', 216. This is definitely true for the two occurrences of ιδιωτικός in the LXX, 4 Macc 4:3, 6. See also: Herm. Vis. 2.3.1.

¹⁵ To be more correct, one should say that ἀγράμματος is a *hapax legomenon* in Acts and Luke on the assumption of common authorship, even if it only occurs once in the whole New Testament. A problem for New Testament exegesis here is that evidence from philological works about *hapax legomena* in Homer's *opus*, for instance, cannot be simply transferred to a collection of writings as the New Testament which consists of many divergent major and even more minor forms. See Kedar, *Biblische Semantik*, 98–105; Zelson, 'Le Hapax Legomena', 243–8; Yahuda, 'Hapax Legomena', 693–714.

¹⁶ Cf. above, notes 1 and 2.

¹⁷ For instance *PFlor.* III 382.79 (III), where the literate person is circumscribed as ὁ δεῖνα μανθάνων γραμμάτων ἐπιστήμων, or *PAmh.* I 82.4, a petition of a former high priest of Arsinoites in the Fayūm from the late third or early fourth century A.D. He applied to the prefect "stating that he had in absence been selected by the town council to attend the prefect's tribunal as an official recorder, although he was unskilled in writing and unfitting for the post" (Greenfell and Hunt's interpretation). Even if line 20 could probably have carried a subscription containing one of the illiterate or semi-literate formulae written by a ὑπογραφεύς, the *lacunae* do not allow a reasonable attempt at a reconstruction. Of more interest is that l. 4 within the body of the document presents the reason and impulse for the priest's petition: ...καὶ γραμμάτων ἐπιστήμονας εἶναι προσήκει. See also *P. Oxy.* II 275.43, 485.48; *P. Fay.* 23.21, 91.45, and many more. For the usage of γράμμα together with διδάσκειν, ἐπίστασθαι, μανθάνειν or παιδεύειν, see Xenophon *Mem.* 4.2.20; Theocritus 24.103; Demosthenes 18.265; Aristotle *Pol.* 1337b 24; Plato *Lg.* 689d; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 9.28; Protagoras 325e; Jos. *Ant.* 12.209, *Ap.* 2.204.

פֶּרֶךְ יָדַע סָפֵר). The LXX has here (οὐκ) ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα. All in all the occurrences of γράμμα in the Old Testament and the New Testament may be categorized under three headings: (a) *a letter or a character* (Lev 19:28; Rom 2:27, 29, 7:6; 2 Cor 3:6–7), (b) *something written* (a letter: 1 Macc 5:20; Acts 28:21; a bill: Luke 16:6–7, a book *et al.*: Esther 6:1; John 5:47; Acts 26:24–25; 2 Tim 3:15), and (c) *the elementary skills of reading and writing* (*T. Lev.* 13:2; *T. Rub.* 4:1, John 7:15b).¹⁸

Especially those references mentioned under (c) are of particular interest in our attempt to come closer to the meaning of ἀγράμματος in Acts 4:13. The two verses in the *T. XII* emphasize the connection between the teaching of reading and the teaching of the law. This may be the sense underlying the question in John 7:15: πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς; Somehow the linkage of γράμματα with the adjective ἱερά, ‘holy scriptures’, in 2 Tim 3:15 underlines a specific understanding of written texts,¹⁹ which parallels the usages of ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις in Rom 1:2 and in some other places where γραφή/φραφαί is to be found.²⁰ Not the scriptures as a whole (whatever that means), but the Mosaic law alone is implied in John 5:47, a usage many times found in Philo.²¹ Although ‘something written’ is meant in Acts 26:24, the procurator Porcius Festus there uses τὰ γράμματα in a negative way when talking to Paul.²²

The use of γράμμα is of major interest here, for a positive form of the adjective ἀγράμματος is not present anywhere in Greek (*γράφματος).²³

¹⁸ On γράμμα, see Bauer, *Wörterbuch*⁶; LSJ⁹; Jeremias, ‘γράφω *et al.*’, 764–5.

¹⁹ Philo *Vita Mos.* 2.290, 292, *Leg. Gai.* 195; *Jos. Bell.* 5.235, 6.312, *Ant.* 1.13, 10.210, *Ap.* 1.54.

²⁰ See as well Matt 21:42; 2 Tim 3:16; 2 Peter 1:20; *Ep. Arist.* 155; Philo *Her.* 106, 159; *Jos. Ap.* 2.45. The singular is often used without further specification as an abstract for *the scriptures*, as in John 2:22, 7:38–42; Rom 4:3, while it refers to just a specific section in Acts 8:32.

²¹ E.g. Philo *Conf.* 50, *Vit. Mos.* 2.290.292, *Leg. Gai.* 195, *Vit. Cont.* 28.

²² The plural τὰ πολλὰ... γράμματα is more precisely rendered by ‘knowledge’ or ‘science’. Compare to this the positive mentions by: Xenophon *Cyr.* 1.2.6; Plato *Apol.* 26d; Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Math.* 1.2.48. See as well Plato *Tim.* 23b (ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἄμουσοι), *Crit.* 109d; Diodorus Siculus 12.13.

²³ On the basis of a nominal use of ἀγράμματος, C.K. Barrett concludes that the opposite word in the New Testament is γραμματεὺς, and not γραμματικός as in classical Greek. Thus, the nominal adjective ἀγράμματος would be “...a man without scribal training in the law”. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 233–4. The term γραμματεὺς has to be taken into account here as well, because Jesus is depicted to a great extent as a wisdom teacher. The term is first found just after the exile (see Ezra 7:6, 11, 12–16, LXX 2 Ezra 7:6, 11, 12–16 *et al.*: פֶּרֶךְ, aram. סָפֵר, and γραμματεὺς for a person with profound knowledge in the Torah). Rabbinic Judaism, like Philo, shunned

The noun γράμμα may therefore help us to find out more about ἀγράμματος. According to the word formation, ἀγράμματος would simply designate somebody who does not know letters at all (*alpha privativum* + *γράμματος). Taking into consideration what has been said about biblical writings, ἀγράμματος characterizes someone who lacks knowledge of the law or the scriptures, especially from a Jewish perspective, or the sciences, or somebody who was not taught in the latter. The first of the definitions above, evidenced many times by documentary papyri, might have made many scholars feel uncomfortable if they considered 'illiterate' as a possible rendering of ἀγράμματος in Acts 4:13, because modern people have negative associations with illiteracy or being illiterate. Besides its direct meaning, most people would think of the connotations 'uneducated', 'uncultured', or 'intellectually simple'.²⁴ Many may keep in mind their own picture of the educational ideal in ancient Greece or the mocking scenes about illiterates in plays by classical authors.²⁵ But a look at the sources presenting the way of life of ordinary people at that time, i.e. the documentary papyri, could be helpful.

First of all, explicit uneasiness or shame about one's own illiteracy can be found nowhere in the observed papyri. Illiterates were enabled by a ὑπογραφύς to participate as equal partners in a contractual or juridical proceeding. For the major rural population in ancient Egypt, reading and writing would not have brought any decisive advantage either. The few times they were in need of these skills, they could turn to a trustworthy scribe, a friend, or a close relative for help.

But there is more to say about illiteracy. If someone was designated as illiterate in a document, it must not be taken literally or as referring to all languages people in Egypt might have known. There are documents which show that people could write demotic very well but not Greek.²⁶ The example of a church lector of Oxyrhynchus, who had to

the word γραμματεὺς, because it might have been confused with the designation of a teacher of grammar or writing. See Dormeyer, *Das Neue Testament*, 12–14.

²⁴ Cf. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 1; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 5; Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ', 170.

²⁵ In some scenes in classical literature illiterates are made fun of, because they were regarded as humble and uneducated. See, for instance: Euripides, fr. 282 (Nauck²); Athenaeus 10.454b–f (Gulick). On the relevance and the limits of an implication of the Athenian educational ideal to other places and the rural population, see Harvey, 'Literacy in the Athenian Democracy', 585–635.

²⁶ *SB I* 5117, l. 6 [55]: Ἐγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (name is lost) διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα Ἑλληνικά ἀλλὰ Αἰγύπτια γραφεῖ (gap). 'I wrote for him... because he does

make an official declaration of church property during the Diocletian persecution, may illustrate this. A lector (ἀναγνώστης) had the task of reading out the scriptures to the church assembly. Assuming that at the time of the document, 304 C.E, the church services in Egypt were definitely not held in Greek, the lector was probably able to read and write Coptic, possibly demotic as well.²⁷ Even priests were called illiterates in the papyri, which is all the more astounding in view of the fact that knowledge of hieratic and, occasionally, demotic letters was a prerequisite for becoming a priest at all.²⁸

The lack of knowledge of Greek among the ordinary rural population of Egypt was a consequence of the fact that the Greek and, later, the Roman occupations had not led to any interest in assimilating the Egyptians or Graeco-Egyptians to Greek and Roman culture. The occupying parties had only one major aim: to exploit the resources of the country. This led to a close-meshed administration, started with the reign of the Ptolemies, in order to perfect the systems of taxation and control. And for these a propagation of reading and writing skills in Greek or even in Latin was not necessary.²⁹

Taking this widened scope of understanding into account, the term 'illiteracy' then must definitely be paralleled neither with our modern notions nor with the ideal of the classical authors. 'Illiterate' may be accepted as the possible meaning of ἀγράμματος in Acts 4.13, provided that other meanings are not excluded by this. The judgement in Acts is that of one group on another, which is quite similar to the judgement

not know Greek letters, but he writes Egyptian ones'. See Wilcken, 'Papyrus-Urkunden', 142–45. Compare also *P. Tebt.* II 291 [162]; *SB* I 5231, 5275 [both copies written A.D. 11]. Further witnesses for this are: *P. Ryl.* II 160 [28/29], 106a [14–37], 160b [37], 160c [32], 160d [183–185]. See the comments in the *editio princeps* and by Youtie, 'Because They Do Not Know Letters', 104–6.

²⁷ Cf. *POxy.* XXXIII 2673 [304], l. 34 (cf. above, note 1 (b)) and the comments by J.R. Rea, 108. Another possible interpretation is offered by Wipszycka, 'Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire', 117–21.

²⁸ See once more *P.Amh.* I 82 [III/IV], a petition of a former high priest. Cf. above, note 17. The necessity of literacy in hieratic is asserted by *P. Tebt.* II 291 i.41–44 [162], in which two priests try to prove their literacy, the first by a claim on documentary evidence, the second by means of a demonstration of his reading skill. A private letter, *P. Lond.* I 43 [II], shows that the knowledge of hieratic letters was held in deep respect even in Roman times: πυνθανομένη μανθάνειν σε Αἰγύπτια γράμματα συνεχάρην σοι καὶ ἑμαυτῇ, 'on hearing that you are learning Egyptian letters I congratulated you and myself'.

²⁹ Cf. Barns, *Egyptians and Greeks*, esp. 12–20; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 276; Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, esp. 25 and 81; Thompson, 'Literacy and power in Ptolemaic Egypt', 82.

on the correctness of speech in ancient rhetoric. Thus, from a Greek point of view Theophrast spoke of ἑλληνισμός, from a Latin perspective Cicero of *latine* (*De orat.* 3.37–53) and Quintilianus of *latinitas* (*Inst.* 8.1.1–3). The same course was taken by the Alexandrian Origen, when he called the Greeks ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀγροικώτεροι ('laymen and more rustic') in contrast to the Alexandrians (*c. Cels.* 1.27). An examination of the close context in Acts 4:13 shows who is talking about whom, or to be more precise, who is made to talk about whom. But the context will be a matter of greater concern in the following discussion. Of major importance here is that a modern understanding of illiteracy as the background for Acts 4:13 must be rejected. The evidence from the papyri and other texts proves that the word ἀγράμματος itself carries no negative connotations.³⁰

3. Ἰδιῶται...καὶ ἀγράμματος: *Aspects of social status and position?*

Together with the modern associations and connotations with illiteracy and being illiterate already mentioned goes an automatic identification of illiterate people with members of lower classes living their plain lives in rural areas, with people who are excluded from higher positions within society. This notion may be the background for some scholars' rejection of the meaning 'illiterate' at first glance, above all if they presume a widespread literacy among the Jewish population of Palestine, propagated by the synagogues.³¹ Others conclude that Peter and John must have been members of the lower class, people who were quite poor but could afford a living slightly above the subsistence level, just because they were characterized as ἀγράμματος...καὶ ἰδιῶται.³²

³⁰ For Acts 4.13 the evidence of the papyri is taken into account by: Moulton/Miligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*; Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 216 n. 2.

³¹ See the rejection of 'illiterate' for ἀγράμματος because "this is highly unlikely in view of the almost universal literacy in New Testament times, and especially as the result of extensive synagogue schools". Louw/Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon* 1, 27.23.

³² See e.g. Stegemann/Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 264: the use of ἀγράμματος and ἰδιῶται applied to Peter and John is taken as an indication for lower class. Hanson, *The Acts in the Revised Standard Version*, 78 n. to verse 13: "uneducated (ἀγράμματος) does not mean that they were illiterate, but that they had not received the formal education of an upper-class gentleman in the Graeco-Roman world; they were ignorant of philosophy and literature and rhetoric". A more cautious notion is held by E. Haenchen who does not accept this verse as the evidence from which to infer a specific social class for Peter and John. Cf. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 216.

But again this is modern thinking. Some documents from the late second century reveal that two ‘village scribes’, *κωμογραμματεῖς*,³³ from the Fayûm in Graeco-Roman Egypt, were incapable of reading and writing. A scribe who cannot write sounds like a paradox. But one of them, Petaus, even felt fit to judge if his colleague, Ischyriion, was illiterate or not. Someone denounced Ischyriion to the prefect as a ‘village scribe’, i.e. the first official in a village office, who did not meet the prerequisites for his *leiturgia*, because he was illiterate and did not own the required property. Petaus solved the problem handily: of course, Ischyriion had enough money and could sign all the documents he had to send to his superior. And according to papyri with writing exercises, this was the same as Petaus did himself: he signed the documents with his name, but he was in fact unable to read or write, as the many mistakes on one of his exercise sheets show.³⁴ Such a *κωμογραμματεὺς* might not have been a very prominent figure as far as world history is concerned, but from a villager’s point of view he might have been the highest official such a villager would ever meet in his whole life. In other words, in a rural hierarchy a ‘village scribe’ was at the top of the social ladder, because he needed property worth about 3,000 *drachmae* and could even earn some money out of his *munus personale*.³⁵

One more example should demonstrate that the application of modern views to ancient texts might be misleading. The *Didascalía* reckoned with illiterate bishops even in the third century; but more than that, illiteracy was regarded as acceptable, whereas other qualities were definitely not, such as that a future bishop had to be blameless and irreproachable.³⁶ Social ranking and position within society do not

³³ This office is described in detail in Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 157–9; Preisigke, ‘Komogrammateus’, 1281–4; Turner, ‘Village Administration’, 40–3; Criscuolo, ‘Ricerche sul komogrammateus’, 3–101.

³⁴ The archive of Petaus is kept partly in Cologne and partly in Michigan. Of special interest in this respect are *P. Petaus* 11 (= *Köln Inv.* 337) [May 2, 184] presenting the Ischyriion case, and Petaus’s writing exercises on *P. Petaus* 121 (= *Köln Inv.* 328) with twelve lines which carry his signature twelve times, and *P. Petaus* 114 (= *Köln Inv.* 366). Petaus used two different forms of signature, which are preserved on *PPetaus* 46 (= *Köln Inv.* 311), 47 (= *Mich. Inv.* 6875), and 77 (= *Köln Inv.* 310b) as Πεταῦς ἐπιδέδωκα, and on *PPetaus* 49 (= *Köln Inv.* 340), 60 and its preliminary works (= *Köln Inv.* 312, 395, 397 recto) as Πεταῦς κωμογρα(μ)ματεὺς ἐπιδέδωκα. The cases of Ischyriion and Petaus are discussed by Youtie, ‘Petaus’, 121–43; idem, ‘ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ’, 171; idem, ‘βραδέως γράφων’, 239–61; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 278; Turner, ‘Village Administration’, 37–45.

³⁵ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *The Social & Economic History* 1, 316–20; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 157; Preisigke, ‘Komogrammateus’, 1282.

³⁶ Cf. *Didascalía et Constitutiones Apostolorum* 1, 2.1.2 (pp. 29–33): ἔστω οὖν, εἰ δυνατόν, παιδαγωγούμενος · εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἔμπειρος τοῦ λόγου, καθήκων τῇ ἡλικίᾳ

guarantee that a person has those qualities. Consequently, a connection must not automatically be assumed between illiteracy to class, profession and position. Even Greek people in Graeco-Roman Egypt, even those who once attended the *gymnasion*, are to be found among those who are referred to as 'illiterates' in the papyri.³⁷

What about the generally accepted widespread literacy in Palestine at the time of the New Testament? It appears to be more correct to distinguish between the urban and the rural population and then to make, if at all possible, careful statements. The synagogues might have had their effect in this respect. But the majority of people in Palestine lived in the country and seem to have been illiterate or at most semi-literate. The skills of reading and writing, once learnt, if at all, faded away by and by, the earlier the more scarcely they were learnt.³⁸ Thus, only a closer look at the written records of, and the living conditions in, earlier times can lead to careful judgements. At the same time this may prevent us from drawing hasty conclusions based upon unproven presumptions.³⁹

4. *A hendiadys in the phrase under discussion in Acts 4:13?*

The doubled qualification ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται could also be regarded as a hendiadys, if figures of speech are concerned. Here, two equal elements, one contributing to the meaning of the other, are used to express a single idea. On that basis the disputed unit in Acts 4:13 has been interpreted as a hendiadys.⁴⁰ At first glance, this notion

³⁷ Cf. *PTeht.* II 316 [99], a declaration of *epheboi*, in which Ammonis Didumos needed a ὑπογραφεύς, because he was a 'slow writer'. *PSI* VI 716 [306?] makes clear that former students of a *gymnasion* were expected to be able to read and write.

³⁸ Cf. Grabbe, *An Introduction*, 31–2; Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 348. This does not mean that written texts were then superfluous, which would be paradox for Judaism. Cf. the study by Thatcher, 'Literacy, textual communities, and Josephus', 133: "Although probably less than 10% of the population of pre-70 Palestine could read beyond a bare functional minimum, Jews were acutely aware of the value of written documents in civil and religious affairs."

³⁹ This is not meant as an attack on the works cited earlier (n. 32), but as a suggestion for careful judging.

⁴⁰ U. Wilcken, who rendered the small phrase in Acts 4:13 as a hendiadys: "...daß es sich um ungebildete Laien handelte...", referred ἀγράμματοι as an attribute to ἰδιῶται. Similarly Delebecque, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, 19: "des hommes sans culture et des simples", the KJV ("unlearned and ignorant men"), the NKJV ("uneducated and untrained men"), the RSV ("uneducated, common men"), and the NRSV ("uneducated and ordinary men"), as they accept the words as being used synonymously for the same idea as a means of emphasis. See as well Haubeck/von Siebenthal, *Neuer sprachlicher*, 642.

somehow fits the definitions of a hendiadys given by many handbooks.⁴¹ Ἀγράμματοι and ἰδιῶται may be taken as used synonymously to strengthen a single idea or, furthermore, to qualify each other. And they appear to be on the same level such as the conjunction καί suggests.

But the syntagmatic sequence ‘noun + adjective + verb + conjunct + noun’ in Acts 4:13 does not conform to the structure of a hendiadys. In the classical languages Greek and Latin a hendiadys is usually made up of two nouns (noun + noun, instead of noun + adjective/attribute), or more rarely two verbs (verb + verb, replacing adverb + verb), each time linked with the copulative conjunction ‘and’.⁴² But what about ἄνθρωποι...καὶ ἰδιῶται? Of course, an adjective can resemble a noun and take over its syntactical function and usage (οἱ ἀγράμματοι), but what to do with three nouns in a row?

Besides, ἀγράμματος and ἰδιώτης do not correspond to each other as synonyms. Additionally, they do not represent a pair as ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἄμουσοι (Plato *Tim.* 23b), ἄνθρωπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἄγροικος (Plutarch *Apophth. Reg.* 186A), or αὐχένα καὶ σθένος (Pindar *Nem.* 7.73), to give some examples of doubled adjectives and nouns. 1 Cor 14:23,24—ἰδιῶται ἢ ἄπιστοι and vice versa—do not conform to a hendiadys structure either because of the conjunction ἢ indicating an alternative between two elements. Thus, as the syntactic structure indicates, the phrase under discussion cannot be a hendiadys.⁴³ Moreover, it would lead to a narrowing of the semantic scope of the two words, presenting two qualifications each with a feature of its own, even if the distinction between them might be only a slight one.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Baldick, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*; Delbrück, ‘Hendiadyoin’, 197; Haubeck/von Siebenthal, *Neuer sprachlicher Schlüssel*, 503.

⁴² Cf., above all, Landfester, *Einführung in die Stilistik*, 112; von Wilpert, *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*; Denniston, *Greek Prose Style*, 62–63; Leumann/Hofmann/Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* 2, 782–3.

⁴³ On the problem of how to define a hendiadys, see Baldick, *Literary Terms*: “The status of the figure is often uncertain, since it usually cannot be established that the paired words actually express a single idea.” Similarly Leumann/Hofmann/Szantyr, *Grammatik* 2, 782.

⁴⁴ Other languages are not of much help here. The Hebrew and Aramaic borrowed ἰδιώτης from the Greek as הדייט. And בור does not represent an exact equivalent of ἀγράμματος, because it has a more negative meaning (‘uncultivated, an uncultured person, mannerless, ruffian’; see *bMQ* 1.8 מועשׂה הדייט...; *bSan.* 10.2). See *bAv.* 2.6, where Hillel speaks about the ignorant (ביד) who cannot sin. Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*; Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*; Krauss, *Griechische Lehnwörter* II, 220.

5. *Acts 4:13 in its context, and other helps for interpretation*

The phrase under discussion is part of a longer scene, in which it is used by the members of the Sanhedrin (4:5–6,15) who arrested Peter and John (Acts 4:3, ἐπέβαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἔθεντο εἰς τήρησιν) and asked them a question (4:7, ἐπονθάνοντο, basically, does not necessarily have any negative connotation). Peter provoked the direct reaction of the Sanhedrin, which is given with two qualities: (a) Peter's and John's *παρρησία* ('freedom, courage of speech and action, and in front of people in higher position')⁴⁵ has been the reason for their reaction, and (b) this *παρρησία* induced their astonishment (ἐθαύμαζον—'they were astonished').⁴⁶

As shown in Acts 4:8, Peter did not only speak in front of the Sanhedrin, he spoke 'filled with the holy Spirit' (πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου—a phrase only found in Luke and Acts).⁴⁷ Augustine took that up and composed a contrast with the sciences, grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, and each kind of learning on the one and the Spirit on the other side (*De civitate dei* 22.5). Apparently, this was welcomed by some scholars for their own interpretations.⁴⁸ But there is a danger of evaluating or interpreting things that are not in the text at all, as nothing is said about sciences, rhetoric or the like. All that can be stated from the text is that the two apostles are depicted as people lacking the knowledge, skills, education or whatever of those who asked them.

This opposition—being filled with Spirit on the one side and education or knowledge on the other—was emphasized many times by early interpreters.⁴⁹ It was even stressed that the uneducated were

⁴⁵ Cf. Bauer, *Wörterbuch*⁶; LSJ⁹; Pape, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* II.

⁴⁶ Here θαυμάζω does not imply a positive or negative connotation. Even if Luke sometimes uses the word to indicate a positive reaction (towards Jesus, his preaching, his miracles etc.), this scene in Acts stresses only the astonishment of the members of the Sanhedrin after Peter's speech. With Zmijewski, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 218–9, and Barrett, *Acts*, 234, against Annen, 'θαυμάζω', 334.

⁴⁷ The frequent and exclusive usage of *πμπλήμι* together with *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* in Luke and Acts can be taken as evidence for Lukan preference. Luke 1:15, 41, 67; Acts 2:4; 4:8, 31; 9:17; 13:9.

⁴⁸ See Hanson, *The Acts*, 78 n. to verse 13; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* I, 349; Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 43.

⁴⁹ Origen employed a similar construction in his quarrel with Celsus: ... τοὺς Ἰησοῦ ἀποστόλους, ἄνδρας ἀγραμμάτους καὶ ἰδιώτας... (*Cels.* 8.47). See also: Bedae *Venerabilis Liber Retractationis in Actus Apostolorum* IV A (PL 92 [1850] 1008); Aratoris *De Actibus Apostolorum* 1.79 (PL 68 [1847] 115 ll. 221–4). See also Justin *Apologia* 1.39.3, 60.11; PseudClem. *Recogn.* 1.62; Origen *c. Cels.* 1.62.

preferred before all the others by God, Christ, and the Spirit, as those to be addressed directly with the raw material of the New Testament.⁵⁰ The church fathers probably had in mind what 1 Cor 2:1–16 says about the proclamation and the true wisdom of God. To Paul, it was not clever, plausible talking that had been his tool in convincing the Corinthians, but the Spirit and power that had made his preaching effective. Therefore, faith is not based upon human wisdom but God's power (2:4–5). Then by quoting from the OT Paul puts forward what he regards as the true wisdom, which God has manifested in his spirit: no human being is able to know what is in God apart from God. Here, Paul makes plausible that for him all pondering, philosophical reflection and logic are incapable of getting into close touch with the Spirit. And this is the reason why he stresses that his preaching, and that of all those who are filled with the Spirit, uses words taught by the Spirit not by any scholar (see as well Isa 29:11–12).⁵¹ This was regarded by the church fathers as a proof of the plainness and simplicity of the biblical writings, and that these writings were easy to understand. According to them, this is why no one had any problem with comprehending what is said in the scriptures, no matter to what social class or educational status he or she belonged.

This may prove to be helpful in understanding Acts 4:13, even though the tendencies in the whole text of Acts should be looked at closely first.⁵² Where Luke composes his gospel, he sticks fairly closely to his sources, whereas in Acts he seems to be freer in developing his programmatic ideas. Acts 2:1–13 shows which way the early followers of Jesus Christ will have to follow after his departure: like Jesus they are filled with the Spirit. Peter's missionary speeches are adjusted very well to this programme. As Jesus had preached, so did Peter in Acts

⁵⁰ Tertullian *De test.* 1. Hippolytus uses the image of an illiterate (ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἄπειρον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ὅρων) for intensifying the wickedness of a heretic (*Haer.* 9.11). Ἀγράμματος is also used by: Ammonius Alexandrinus *Ac.* 23.7–8 (PG 85 [1864] 1589B; Isidorus Pelusiota *Epp.* 1.428 (PG 78 [1864] 420A).

⁵¹ Origen made up the opposition 'spirit and power'/'wise, human persuasiveness' (*Cels.* 1.62). See on that Heinrici, *Der literarische Charakter*, 1–2: This opposition is similar to Plato (only read by the sophisticated) and Epictetus (popular among those who sought moral progress).

⁵² Cf. Dormeyer, *Das Neue Testament*, 42–44. Thus Dormeyer's translation "daß es einfache Leute ohne ausgebildete Schreib- und Lesefähigkeit (*agrammatoi*) waren". Even if the syntagma is destructuralized, an understanding is expressed, which allows the integration of further information about the socio-cultural background of the New Testament into an exegesis of Acts 4:13.

3–4.⁵³ Neither knowledge nor education made him effective, it was only the Spirit which filled him. This may be the wider theological concept of Acts 4:13.

Taking into account the literary and theological programme in Acts, the scene 4:1–22 is to be taken as a carefully constructed narrative. It is the members of the Sanhedrin, elaborately introduced in vv. 5–6, whose inner reactions and thoughts are given in Acts 4:13–14. The narrator seems to be omniscient, for he knows what is going on inside his characters. So the features of the two apostles, ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εισιν καὶ ἰδιῶται, are presented through the eyes of those who arrested and interrogated them. From the point of view of the members of the Sanhedrin, taught and trained in reading, writing, and studying the Torah, the two apostles were of minor education, just laymen; they could even have meant that they were illiterate, but the latter probably on the previously described premises that this did not then have the implications it carries nowadays. Thus, it might not necessarily be meant as a negative attribute: on the one hand the papyri suggest a more neutral understanding, and on the other hand it always depends on the specific reader's view. This at least is the impression given by Acts. Whether an explicit anti-Judaism can be attested for Acts 4:1–22 depends on the individual interpretation. A tendency to depict the Jews as blind and opposed to those filled with the Spirit, i.e. to the apostles, can easily be shown by various examples, such as Acts 5.28 and its disastrous and dreadful reception.⁵⁴ However, Acts 4:13–14 might not contain such a tendency, assuming that the reaction of the Jewish 'rulers, elders, and scribes' is not narrated tendentiously in order to disqualify the Jewish establishment (see the primarily neutral meaning of θαυμάζω and ἀγράμματος here). Should there not be broad information and elaborate pondering before judging such a verse?

Conclusion

The results of this study can be summed up as follows: an interpretation of Acts 4:13 should always stick to the syntactic structure and take into

⁵³ See on that Dormeyer, *Das Neue Testament*, 229; Aune, *The New Testament*, 77.

⁵⁴ Cf. Notley, 'Anti-Jewish tendencies in the Synoptic Gospels', esp. 22; Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, XXVI (for a comparison of Luke 6:10–11 with Acts 4:14–16), 588–92 ('A Literary Approach to the Trial of Jesus'); O'Neill, *The Theology of Acts*, 77–99.

account the manifold semantic nuances of words. Therefore, a hendiadys must be rejected for Acts 4:13 as well as a modern understanding of ‘illiteracy’, contradicted as the latter is by the non-literary papyri. The socio-cultural background, i.e. the ancient understanding of illiteracy, will help to clear things up. It is not the idealized view of many classical authors that is the correct background for the people of the New Testament, but the documents which enlighten the everyday life of ordinary, mostly rural people. Further, in Acts 4:13 nothing is said about rhetoric, social class or the like. All this, together with the narrative and theological concept behind Acts, could lead to a translation of Acts 4:13 as follows: “...that they were illiterate men and laymen.”⁵⁵

Addenda

For the topics ‘(il)literacy’ and any relevant formulae and phrasing, above all in documentary papyri, the case of Petaus, ‘reading and writing’ in general and ‘socio-cultural implications’ in particular as well as applications of these to actually literary texts I refer to the two preceding studies ‘7—(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: further aspects to the educational ideal in ancient literary sources and modern times’ and ‘8—Slow writers’—*βραδέως γράφοντες*: What, How Much, and How Did They Write?’ and the following ‘10—John 7:15b: “Knowing letters” and (Il)literacy’ and the *addenda* sections there. The last focuses on one of the references made in section two above (“2. *ἀγράφματος*—a *hapax legomenon* of the New Testament and how to come closer to its significance”) in order to check whether a similar understanding of John 7:15b to that of Acts 4:13 is appropriate. In addition, I addressed the issue of defining and evaluating *hapax legomena* in more detail in my monograph on 2Peter.⁵⁶

The original manuscript of this article was quite a bit longer. Some passages, however, were abridged or even completely deleted due to the publication policy of *New Testament Studies*, above all length restrictions for contributions, and due to readability and unity. Be that as it may, here are two passages that may be of interest in a wider context: the

⁵⁵ See above note 40. Conzelmann’s version (*Die Apostelgeschichte* 42), “... daß sie ungelehrte Leute und Laien seien...”, keeps the syntactical structure, but again ‘uneducated’ (‘ungelehrte’) might be mixed up with modern notions of illiteracy.

⁵⁶ Cf. Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort*, 313–53.

first (a) offers a more profound discussion of the textual variants offered by manuscripts and the versions for Acts 4:13 than is provided in note 4 of the study above, the second (b) presents an additional analysis of the phrase under discussion according to the syntactic functions of clause elements:

(a) *Codex Bezae and Acts 4:13*

As far as questions of textual criticism are concerned, verses 13–14 are quite unproblematic. Apart from some minor variants (e.g., omit δέ P⁷⁴ D Ψ 0165* 36; omit τε D; ἐπεγείνωσκον and add ποιῆσαι ἢ before ἀντιπεῖν [Sic!] D), the major difference between the extensively attested and generally accepted reading as given in NA²⁷ and GNT⁴ is presented by D, the bilingual Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis:⁵⁷ Θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου παρρησίαν καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν ἐθαύμαζον...⁵⁸

Why did the scribe omit καὶ ἰδιῶται? Somehow, to him the double expression with ἀγράμματοι and ἰδιῶται might have appeared to be a description too reviling of the apostles. Thus he obliterated the latter of the two to keep at least a little bit of the syntactical structure. But this cannot be clarified with the utmost security. By only taking into account other changes in D within the context of Acts 4:13–16, the compositional intention of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis becomes clear. The apostles did not go aside but were ordered to be led out (ἀπαχθῆναι for the neutral ἀπελθεῖν). The sign previously performed by Peter was characterized not only as being 'obvious' but as being

⁵⁷ See on that Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 277–8: Here, Acts 4:13–16 are given according to it^h and cop^{G67}, which offer a rearranged and blown variant of the scene. According to B.M. Metzger, "Codex Bezae stands between the full-blown Western form of text and the text of most of the old uncials" (277). For the Old Latin versions in general with additional literature, see Elliott, 'The Translation of the New Testament into Latin', 198–245. An introductory survey of the Coptic versions with critical notes is given by Wisse, 'The Coptic Versions of the New Testament', 131–41; Mink, 'Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments', 160–299. Furthermore, on some interesting features of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, for its readings, variants, tendencies, and evaluation see Parker, *An early Christian manuscript and its text*; Rice, 'Is Bezae a homogeneous codex?', 39–54; Birdsall, 'The geographical and cultural origin', 102–14; Bartsch, 'Über den Umgang der frühen Christenheit mit dem Text der Evangelien', 167–82.

⁵⁸ Cf. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, 339–fol. 427b. The text is reproduced according to Scrivener's transcription, but for easier comparability set with accents and aspiration following NA²⁷ and GNT⁴. The Latin (fol. 428a) presents the text in an exact translation.

‘absolutely obvious (for everybody)’ (the comparative φανερότερον instead of the simple φανερόν).⁵⁹ By intensively showing the Sanhedrin as blind and obdurate towards the manifestation in Jesus Christ, and at the same time by weakening the slightly negative feature of the apostles, the tendency of the text is definitely anti-Semitic. Even if it might be considered only as latent anti-Semitism in these verses, throughout D an anti-Semitic trend can be identified.⁶⁰

The variant of Codex Bezae in Acts 4:13 without ἰδιῶται then should not be taken for a scribe’s problem with style and language, but primarily seems to be the product of a theological, even an ideological, alteration of the otherwise prevailing double expression as attested by the overwhelmingly number of witnesses. So it may be concluded that the scribes did not find any difficulty with the reading, which at first glance appears to depreciate the apostles and their capabilities.

The textual witnesses prove that the given text was quite unproblematic for the early scribes. In order to get closer to the meaning and the background of the double expression the lack of variants strengthens the reading as the probable original but does not offer any help for a better and clearer understanding of Acts 4:13 and what semantically speaking lies behind it. Therefore, exegetical approaches have to rely on semantics in order to progress in that field.

(b) *A hendiadys in the nearest and smallest context around Acts 4:13?*

What is the worth of semantic pondering, if the contextual embedding of a word is not considered? Before a wider scope is to be discussed, the scene as a whole, further places of interest in the New Testament for a more profound understanding of Acts 4:13, a look at the narrowest context of the expression under discussion and possible interrelations within that should be discussed briefly. The sentence of interest may be structured around the finite form of εἰμί binding two nouns in

⁵⁹ Cf. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*², 277–8. B.M. Manning presents the given evidence, but the observations in D were not corroborated with the means of additional samples and the board did not draw any conclusion from it in favour of an anti-Semitic tendency in Codex Bezae.

⁶⁰ See on that Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis*; Barrett, ‘Is there a theological tendency’, 15–27; Ehrman, ‘The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity’, in: Ehrman/Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament*, 361–79. Anti-Semitic prejudices in Codex Bezae were observed as well in the Gospel of Luke by Rice, ‘The anti-Judaic bias of the western text’, 51–57.

the nominative plural and one adhering adjective in the same case. Towards the one side ὅτι after the aorist participle of καταλαμβάνω, on the other the finite imperfect of θαυμάζω serve as the limits of the smallest integral whole in syntactical terms.

	ἄνθρωποι	ἀγράμματοί	εἰσιν	καὶ	ιδιώται
parts of	noun	adjective	verb	conjunction	noun
speech					
sentence	S	Cs	V	+	Cs
structure					

For Acts 4:13 itself the linking verb εἰμί, so-called because it connects a subject (S) and its complements (Cs) closely, is used to denote the existence of persons (ἄνθρωποι...εἰσιν) and at the same time to give information about them (ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ιδιώται). Thus, two syntactical elements can have the same function within a sentence, here to qualify a subject, even if they belong to two different parts of speech (adjective and noun). The subject complements are linked with each other by the conjunction καί, which here serves to multiply one part of speech in order to prolong the sentence (+) and by that here doubles the two attributes, an adjective and a noun.⁶¹ From a syntactical view there would not be anything missing if one of the Cs was left out. From semantic standpoint this would make a difference, for the qualification of the subject then definitely would not be the same.

Bibliography

- Annen, F., ‘θαυμάζω’, EWNT² 2 (1992) 334.
 Aune, D.E., *The New Testament In Its Literary Environment* (LEC 8; Philadelphia: John Knox, 1987).
 Baldick, C., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
 Barns, J.W.B., *Egyptians and Greeks* (Pap.Brux. XIV; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1978).
 Barrett, C.K., ‘Is there a theological tendency in Codex Bezae’, in E. Best/R. McL. Wilson (eds.), *Text and Interpretation. Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 15–27.

⁶¹ This conforms to the view of traditional Greek grammar. See, e.g., Denniston, *Greek Prose Style*, 63–64.

- , *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. Vol. I: Preliminary Introduction and Commentary on Acts I–XIV* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994).
- Bartsch, H.-W., 'ιδιώτης', *EWNT* 2, 423–4.
- , 'Über den Umgang der frühen Christenheit mit dem Text der Evangelien. Das Beispiel des Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis', *NTS* 29 (1983) 167–82.
- Birdsall, J.N., 'The geographical and cultural origin of the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: a survey of the status quaestionis, mainly from the palaeographical standpoint', in: W. Schrage (ed.), *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments* (BZNW 47; Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) 102–14.
- Calderini, R., 'Gli ἀγραμματοὶ nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aeg* 30 (1950) 14–41.
- Conzelmann, H., *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (KEK 5; 12th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981).
- , *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HNT 7; 2nd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1972).
- Crisuolo, L., 'Ricerche sul komogrammateus nell'Egitto tolemaico', *Aeg* 58 (1978) 3–101.
- Dalman, D.G.H., *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (3rd ed.; Göttingen: Pfeiffer, 1938; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).
- Delbrück, H., 'Hendiadyon', *Metzler Literatur Lexikon. Begriffe und Definitionen* (ed. G. and I. Schweikle; 2nd ed.; Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1990) 197.
- Delebecque, E., *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Collection d'Études Anciennes; Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1982).
- Denniston, J.D., *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).
- Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum. Vol. 1* (ed. F.X. Funk; Paderborn, 1885).
- Dittenberger, W. (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. 4 vols.* (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1915–24; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1960).
- Dormeyer, D., *Das Neue Testament im Rahmen der antiken Literaturgeschichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993).
- Ehrman, B.D., 'The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity', in: idem/Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament*, 361–79.
- /Holmes, M.W. (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (StD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994).
- Elliott, J.K., 'The Translation of the New Testament into Latin: The Old Latin and the Vulgate', *ANRW* 2.26.1 (1992) 198–245.
- Epp, E.J., *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (MSSNTS 3; Cambridge-New York, 1966).
- Exler, F.J., *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri (3rd c. B.C.–3rd c. A.D.)* (Washington D.C.: Diss., Catholic University of America, 1923, repr. Chicago: Ares, 1976).
- Flusser, D., *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Gefen Books, 1988).
- Gingrich, F.W./Danker, F.W. (ed.), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (transl. and adapted into English from the 5th German ed.; 2nd ed.; Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1979).
- Grabbe, L.L., *An Introduction to First Century Judaism. Jewish Religion and History in the Second Temple Period* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996).
- Haenchen, E., *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3; 16th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).
- Hanson, R.P.C., *The Acts in the Revised Standard Version* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).
- Harris, W.V., *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge/Mass.-London: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Harvey, F.D., 'Literacy in the Athenian Democracy', *RÉG* 79 (1966) 585–635.
- Haubeck, W./von Siebenthal, H., *Neuer sprachlicher Schlüssel zum griechischen Neuen Testament: Matthäus bis Apostelgeschichte* (Giessen-Basel: Brunnen-Verlag, 1997).

- , *Neuer sprachlicher Schlüssel zum griechischen Neuen Testament: Römer bis Offenbarung* (Giessen-Basel: Brunnen-Verlag, 1994).
- Heinrich, G., *Der literarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1908).
- Jastrow, M., *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York-Berlin-London: Verlag Chöre, 1926).
- Jeremias, J., 'γράφω et al.', *ThWNT* 1 (1933) 764–5.
- Kedar, B., *Biblische Semantik. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1981).
- Kraus, T.J., *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (WUNT 2.136; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).
- Krauss, S., *Griechische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum. Vol. II* (Berlin: Calvary, 1899).
- Landfester, M., *Einführung in die Stilistik der griechischen und lateinischen Literatursprachen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997).
- Leumann, M./Hofmann, J.B./Szantyr, A., *Lateinische Grammatik. Vol. 2: Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (HAW 2.2.2; by J.B. Hofmann, a new revision by A. Szantyr; Munich: Beck, 1965).
- Lewis, N., *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- Louw, J.P./Nida, E.A. (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains. Vol. 1: Introduction & Domains* (2nd ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1989).
- Majer-Leonhard, E., *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ in Aegypto qui litteras sciverint qui nesciverint ex papyris graecis quantum fieri postes exploratus* (Frankfurt a.M.: Diekmann, 1913).
- Metzger, B.M., *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1994).
- Mink, G., 'Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments', in: K. Aland (ed.), *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ANT 5; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) 160–299.
- Moulton, J.H./Milligan, G., *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources* (Glasgow: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930).
- Notley, S., 'Anti-Jewish tendencies in the Synoptic Gospels', *Jerusalem Perspective* 51 (1996) 20–38.
- O'Neill, J.C., *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting* (London: SPCK, 1970).
- Oertel, F., *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1917; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1965).
- Parker, D.C., *An early Christian manuscript and its text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Preisigke, F., 'Komogrammateus', *PRE* 2 (1922) 1281–4.
- Rice, G.E., 'The anti-Judaic bias of the western text in the Gospel of Luke', *AUSS* 18 (1980) 51–57.
- Rice, G.F., 'Is Bezae a homogeneous codex?', in: C.H. Talbert (ed.), *Perspectives on the New Testament: Essays in Honor of Frank Stagg* (PRSt 11; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985) 39–54.
- Rostovtzeff, M., *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953–64).
- Schlier, H., 'ἰδιώτης', *ThWNT* 3 (1938) 215–7.
- Schneider, G., *Die Apostelgeschichte I: Einleitung. Kommentar zu Kap. 1, 1–8, 40* (HThK 5,1; Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder Verlag, 1980).
- Scrivener, F.H., *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge 1864; repr. Pennsylvania: Wipf & Stock, 1978).
- Shipley, J.T. (ed.), *Dictionary of World Literary Terms. Forms, Technique, Criticism* (rev., enlarged ed.; London: Allen & Unwin, 1970).
- Stegemann, E.W./Stegemann, W., *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte. Die Anfänge im Judentum und die Christusgemeinden in der mediterranen Welt* (Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln: Kohlhammer, 1995).

- Tcherikover, V., *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966).
- Thatcher, T., 'Literacy, textual communities, and Josephus' *Jewish War*', *JJS* 29 (1998) 123–42.
- Thomas, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Thompson, D.J., 'Literacy and power in Ptolemaic Egypt', in: A.K. Bowman/G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and power in the ancient world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 67–83.
- Turner, E.G., 'Village Administration in the Roman Empire in the Second Century', in: idem, *The Papyrologist at Work* (GRBS.M 6; Durham: Duke University, 1973) 32–47.
- von Wilpert, G., *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur* (KTA 231; 7th improved and enlarged ed.; Stuttgart: Kröner, 1989).
- Wilcken, U., 'Papyrus-Urkunden', *APF* 2 (1903) 142–45.
- Winter, J.G., *Life and Letters in the Papyri. The Jerome Lectures* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1933).
- Wipszycka, E., 'Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire ou un chrétien qui ne veut pas se souiller? (POxy. XXXIII 2673)', *ΣPE* 50 (1983) 117–121.
- Wisse, F., 'The Coptic Versions of the New Testament', in: Ehrman/Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament*, 131–141.
- Yahuda, A.S., 'Hapax Legomena im Alten Testament', *JQR* 14 (1902/03) 693–714.
- Youtie, H.C., 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt', *HSCP* 75 (1971) 161–76 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae II*, 611–27).
- , 'Because They Do Not Know Letters', *ΣPE* 19 (1975) 101–8 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, 255–62).
- , 'ἑρᾶδῶς γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239–61 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae II*, 629–66).
- , 'Pétaus, fils de Pétaus, ou le scribe qui ne savait pas écrire', *CEg* 41 (1966) 127–43 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae II*, 677–95).
- , *Scriptiunculae II* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).
- , *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I* (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).
- , 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ΣPE* 17 (1975) 201–21 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, 179–99).
- Zelson, L.C., 'Le Hapax Legomena du Pentateuque Hebraïque', *RB* 36 (1972) 243–8.
- Zmijewski, J., *Die Apostelgeschichte* (RNT 5; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1994).

CHAPTER TEN

JOHN 7:15B: ‘KNOWING LETTERS’ AND (IL)LITERACY*

In documentary contexts all Greek and Latin expressions concerning ‘knowing letters’ refer to literacy in the narrow sense, but in literary contexts there is ambiguity by the time of Plato and Xenophon, and it continues into late antiquity.¹

Even if the distinction made here appears to be too harsh,² William V. Harris points to a phenomenon widely present in documents from Greco-Roman Egypt: on behalf of others who were not capable of doing so, a ὑπογραφεῖς, ‘a person writing on behalf of another’, not only checked the contents of the document in order to guarantee the legality of the contractual and juridical proceedings at stake, but also wrote the required formal subscription for illiterates. However, employing a ὑπογραφεύς does not automatically result from illiteracy. In *POxy.* VI 911 and probably *POxy.* XLI 2696 a ὑπογραφεύς is needed due to bad eyesight.³ The three formulae commonly employed are ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα/γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος—‘I wrote for him who does not know letters’, ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου (ὄντος)—‘I wrote for him who is illiterate’, and ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βραδέως γράφοντος/βραδέα γράφοντος—‘I wrote for him who writes slowly’.⁴ That way those who did not ‘know letters’, who were ‘illiterate’, and who ‘wrote slowly’ could equally participate in everyday legal matters just as literates did. No mention is made in documents that illiterates were looked down on or discriminated against by others, which does not mean that some people did not cheat illiterates because of their

* Previously unpublished.

¹ Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 5–6.

² See Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 341.

³ Occasionally the illiterates added their names on their own, often in a crude hand that can easily be discerned from the others in most cases. Cf. Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, p. 328 n. 17: “Many documents reveal the desirability and even necessity of providing a subscription in one’s own hand (an *autograph*).”

⁴ Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, p. 5 n. 8, is right in asserting: “Greek examples are legion”. Nevertheless, for lists of examples for these three formulae see Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 325–28.

illiteracy. This is explicitly expressed in *POxy* I 71 (revised as Grundz. Mitt. 62), col. I: a certain Aurelius Demetrius complains about Aurelius Sotas who is accused of having betrayed him because the first one is illiterate (διὰ τὸ ἀγράμματόν με εἶναι). Obviously, there was not only the possibility of cheating an illiterate, but even an official authority to which complaints could be sent about those who had an eye on their advantage only or betrayed others.⁵

In 7:15b the Gospel of John strikingly resembles some of the phrasing in the formulae quoted above: πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς;—literally translated into English as ‘how does this one know letters without having learned [them].’ What is so striking is not that it is pointed out that Jesus ‘knows letters’, but the fact that this phrase is a singular phenomenon among the places where γράμμα is used in the New Testament. Of course, it still might be a matter of taste and personal preference regarding the literary style of the Gospel of John. However, for our discussion it is not essential to place it closer to the non-literary papyri or to Plato and Xenophon, to return to Harris’s distinction one more time.

Consequently, the aim of this brief study is to ask: can the results from research on (il)literacy in (late) antiquity, above all their application to New Testament contexts,⁶ be applied to John 7:15b as well? If yes, in what respect do they help us to understand this verse in the light of its contemporary socio-historical context of literacy and, thus, alternatively in relation to its standard or traditional interpretation? Additionally, how do they shed light on the role of the Jews in that scene?⁷

With all this in mind, speculations about the historical Jesus⁸ and the criteria for discerning what Jesus himself might have really said or done can be left aside. The same is true for an exhaustive discussion of the relevant Johannine context, a subject matter that is very complex and ambiguous.⁹ Nonetheless, linking John 7:15b with (il)literacy in the

⁵ Cf. Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 322–41, explicitly about the case of *POxy* I 71, see Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 327.

⁶ Especially as performed in my study of Acts 4:13. Cf. Kraus, “Uneducated”, 434–49.

⁷ This refers to the perspective of narrative criticism, i.e. the understanding a contemporary reader might have had in those days or an ideal reader might have at all.

⁸ The monumental work by J.P. Meier (*A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Vols. 1–3*, with concluding volume 4 still missing) is one of the major reference tools in the field.

⁹ Cf. the various contributions in Frey/Schnelle, *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums*.

Graeco-Roman era implies the necessity to take into account a certain context as a sort of a socio-historical framework in which the verse is set. A random spot check of commentaries proves that John 7:15, which appears as unproblematic at first glance, has been interpreted with some variation, often just fitting in within the wider context of John 7. Without doubt a classic example is that of Rudolf Bultmann, whose comments on John has had a far-reaching and long-lasting influence. On 7:15 he commented as follows:¹⁰

Die Juden weisen diese Berufung auf Mose als Anmaßung zurück (7,15). Wie kann sich Jesus auf die Schriften berufen! Er hat sie doch nicht studiert! Er gehört doch nicht zur Zunft der Schriftgelehrten!

Bultmann implies that the Jews were scandalized by Jesus' behavior ("Anmaßung"—'presumptuousness'), what he additionally emphasizes by putting exclamation marks at the end of his two rhetorical questions and the final statement.¹¹ Rudolf Schnackenburg even goes further and calls their response a "gehässige Bemerkung" ('a spiteful remark') with which he shows the Jews in a very unfavorable light.¹² What Bultmann called "Zunft der Schriftgelehrten"—'gild of the scribes' can be found in the commentaries of others, too, sometimes mentioning rabbinic education, rabbinic masters, or the like as well.¹³ In most cases, commentators point out that the Jews reacted the way they did due to their assumption that Jesus was not authorized by a Jewish teacher or by any other form of formal education.¹⁴ Sjef Van Tilborg has recently emphasized that John 7:15 is a manifestation of the classical ideology of the education of the sons by their fathers, who then were responsible for their education *and* their teaching. Jesus was not taught at a school

¹⁰ Bultmann, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 205.

¹¹ Similarly, Barrett, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 325, who takes the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος as a disrespectful and pejorative reference to Jesus ("dieser Kerl"—'that guy'). Less tendentiously in this respect but more colloquial is the translation "this fellow" provided by Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 310.

¹² Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 104.

¹³ See, for instance, Wikenhauser, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 157; Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 312; Barrett, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 325; Beasley-Murray, *John*, 103, 108. See, further Kümmel, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 220 ("Jesus hat trotz seiner Kenntnis rabbinischer Argumentation keine rabbinische Schulung durchgemacht, wie die Evangelien genau wissen [Mk. 6,2; Joh. 7,15].").

¹⁴ Cf. note 13. See further Westcott, *The Gospel according to John*, 118; Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 104 ("schulmäßige Bildung"—'school education'), 105; Van Tilborg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 109 ("Unterricht", "Elementarunterricht"—'education', 'elementary education').

together with others and not by a private teacher; he was educated in the house of his father and by his father himself; and this is the teaching he passes on now and, as someone who himself received this teaching, he honors his father by doing so.¹⁵ With this we also have a quite allegorical interpretation of the scene available today. Occasionally, commentators introduce reflections on the semantics of γράμματα εἰδέναι and quite rarely of μὴ μεμαθηκώς, but quickly rule out that both of them refer to the skills of reading and writing learnt in elementary education.¹⁶ In his overall assessment of John 7 Schnackenburg regards the general phrase of 7:15b as the Jews' attempt to discredit Jesus and sees them in close succession of 7:20, 35; 8:22, 48, 52; 10:20, where he identifies other 'typical accusations' the Jews bring forward against Jesus.¹⁷

What then is the meaning of the phrase—i.e. the question πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς;—under discussion? And what does it reveal about the Jews, their reaction to Jesus' appearance in the Temple and his teaching, and finally their attitude towards Jesus (friendly, neutral, hostile)? What does it imply and tell of its broader context of John 7, and do the non-literary papyri help to shed light on its meaning? Does τὰ γράμματα, for instance, as is often noted in the commentaries, really stand for 'the Scriptures' as it is sometimes taken for granted?¹⁸

The lexeme can be found several times: (a) only the Pauline letters have the singular γράμμα, there in the sense of 'letter' (as the unit of an alphabet; Rom 2:27(?), 29; 7:6; 2 Cor 3:6; see as well the variant reading of Luke 23:38¹⁹); (b) by far more frequent are the occurrences of the plural γράμματα, either as 'letters' (units of an alphabet; 2 Cor 3:7; Gal 6:11), 'letters' (written document or piece of writing; Acts 28:21; Luke 16:6–7 ['bill?']), '(Moses') writings' (John 5:47; Rom

¹⁵ Cf. Van Tilborg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 110.

¹⁶ See, for example, Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 184–5, and more explicitly Beasley-Murray, *John*, 103, 108.

¹⁷ Cf. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 105.

¹⁸ See Wikenhauser, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 157; Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 182. Slightly implied by Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 205 (see passage cited above). Slightly differentiated by George R. Beasley-Murray, who translates τὰ γράμματα as 'education' (*John*, 101) in the sense of a correct understanding of the Bible (learnt from a rabbi) and underlines that "most Jewish boys were taught to read the Scriptures (= the Law)" (*John*, 103).

¹⁹ According to the apparatus of Nestle/Aland²⁷: γραμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ (–⁸*.c D) ρωμαικοῖς καὶ (–⁸*.c D) ἐβραικοῖς ⁸*.c A C³ D W Θ (Ψ) 0250 f¹.⁽¹³⁾ (33) M lat sy^(p).h (bo^{pt}).

2:27[?]), and either ‘learning’, ‘writings’ or ‘knowledge’ (Acts 26:24 τὰ πολλά σε γράμματα). Even if each of these occurrences needed and deserved an individual analysis, for convenience and serving the purpose of this study the primary meaning, as determined by the context and according to the relevant lexicons (see above), remains sufficient here.²⁰ But 2 Tim 3:15 and John 7:15b seem to be different: both of them have γράμματα with a form of εἰδέναι and apparently fit the socio-cultural context as constructed for Acts 4:13 above. Only the latter of the two verses actually does so, as the former is semantically qualified by an attributive adjective (according to Nestle/Aland)²⁷ καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ βρέφους[τὰ] ἱερὰ γράμματα οἶδας. Here the γράμματα are used in the sense of the meaning ‘the Holy Scriptures’ as implied in the Old Testament (see further Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 2.290, 292; *Praem. Poen.* 79; *Leg. Gai.* 195; Josephus, *Ant* 1.13; 10.210; *Apion* 1.54), similar to the synonymous and generalising πᾶσα γραφή in 2 Tim 3:16 (cf. Philo, *Rer. Div. Her.* 106 ἐν ἱεραῖς γράφαις).²¹

Thus, among the occurrences of γράμμα in the New Testament John 7:15b is unique; but its meaning is as well. The context clearly indicates that it is in the middle of *Sukkoth*, the Feast of Tabernacles (7:1, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία), when Jesus is teaching in the Temple; and this is something that astonishes or even bewilders the Jews (7:15): ἐθαύμαζον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες · πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς;—It is possible that most interpreters are right, who identify the γράμματα with the ‘writings’ or the Scripture, and the text itself implies that, as in 7:16 Jesus contrasts his teaching (ἡ ἐμὴ διδασχὴ) with that of the one who has sent him, God, and in 7:14 Jesus is shown as someone teaching (ἐδίδασκεν). Nevertheless, the narrative does not necessarily and exclusively point to such an understanding. From the perspective of those usually around and inside the Temple it must be a real marvel, if not say a miracle, being confronted with something like that: someone from a rural area outside Jerusalem, who they hold is incapable of reading at all, and who then reads fluently in front of them (and possibly talks with them about what he has previously read). How and where did he learn that skill (μανθάνειν)? Of course, one might think of Luke 4:16 and the synagogue of Nazareth, where

²⁰ This is the result of a cross section of Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*; Bauer⁹; LSJ⁹; Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

²¹ Cf. Kraus, “Uneducated”, 439–40.

Jesus just opened the book and read from ‘the book of the prophet Isaiah’, above all noting the naturalness and casualness of his action. Furthermore, Matt 13:54, 56 and Mark 6:2 might come to mind as well, with John 7:15 somehow being a reminiscence of them. The people there in the synagogue on the Sabbath ask (themselves) where Jesus got ‘these things’ and ‘this wisdom’. The context is not identical with John 7:15: in Mk 6:2 and Matt 13:54 ‘mighty works’ (αἱ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται) are also mentioned to explain the Jews’ astonishment, and the questions are asked in the next verses of both Gospels to identify Jesus as ‘the carpenter’ and ‘Mary’s son’, ‘James’, ‘Joses’ and ‘Judas’ brother’, and the concluding statement ‘and they took offence at him’.

In those days reading and writing at a high level—even if the situation in Palestine might have been slightly different—were usually privileges for the well-to-do and/or for a specially trained group, such as priests and scribes²²—the perspective of those present at that incident in the Jerusalem temple. Clearly μὴ μεμαθηκώς (a *participium coniunctum*)²³ indicates what they, the bystanders, never reckoned with: μανθάνειν expresses ‘learning’, usually ‘by instruction’. So, for the people present at that incident it is an astounding fact that someone just reads, that someone ‘knows letters’ who they think should not ‘have learned’ that skill by instruction. Of course, here the circle closes, as such an instruction might have been given by “a recognized rabbi”²⁴ and, therefore, implies more than the mere skill of reading and writing.

That there is a relationship between John 7:15 and Acts 4:13 is also indicated by a reference to the latter next to the former in the outside margin of Nestle/Aland^{27, 25} and that the documentary papyri are of importance for John 7:15 is explicitly indicated by the listing of selected textual items by the relevant lexicons. Some of them even dedicate an individual paragraph to that verse in order to explain its meaning in relation to the usual occurrences of γράμματα διδάσκειν, ἐπίστασθαι,

²² See Harris, *Ancient Literacy*; Kraus ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 322–41. Among the many studies and monographs dealing with the topic in a narrower or broader way see, for instance, Thomas, *Literacy and Orality* and, above all, Bowman/Woolf, *Literacy & power*.

²³ See Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, § 418 (5a and note 6).

²⁴ Louw/Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 327 (27.12).

²⁵ A reference from John 7:15 to Acts 4:13, for instance, is given by Wikenhauser, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 157; Barrett, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 325.

μανθάνειν, παιδεύειν or εἰδέναι.²⁶ Apart from the context, this provides proof of the singularity of John 7:15.

But does the context in the Gospel of John depict the Jews in a negative way as pointed out in modern interpretation?²⁷ For Acts 4:13 I demonstrated that this is not the case, something that can be said about the Johannine context analogously.²⁸ The verbs and adjectives used are neutral and do not characterize the Jews as being “learned fools” who “[w]ith the biting scorn of the superior person . . . affect to regard Jesus and His disciples as ‘illiterates’.”²⁹ For the reader³⁰ of the text, the Jews are those who are described as the astonished and bewildered ones who express their impression without offending Jesus or uttering any bad word about him. Their reaction appears to be sudden and their words sound like an immediate assertion of surprise, asking each other or themselves how such a thing can happen. Thus, any interpretation of John 7:15 and its wider context as being clearly anti-Jewish and/or depicting the Jews in a negative way has to be rejected. They are more or less based on expectations a reader and interpreter might have due to other occurrences of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, where the Jews are shown in a bad light. This, according to Tobias Nicklas, might be called “Verstrickung des Lesers in die Perspektive des joh Erzählers” (‘the reader’s entanglement in the perspective of the Johannine narrator’).³¹

Of course, the picture painted of ‘the Jews’ may not be unbiased any more if the wider context and other elements are included in the discussion: Jesus went up to Jerusalem ἐν κρυπτῷ (John 7:10) and no one

²⁶ See Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v. γράμμα; Bauer⁶, s.v. γράμμα (3); Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. γράμμα (3); Louw/Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 328 (27.21). It is surprising that books assigned to the issue of reading and writing in the New Testament refer neither to Acts 4:13 nor to John 7:15. See Müller, “Verstehst du auch, was du liest?” and Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus*.

²⁷ See, for example, Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 275, who points out that there is an undertone of the Jews’ disbelief, and von Wahlde, ‘The Johannine ‘Jews’. A Critical Survey’, who identifies οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in 7:15 as hostile authorities. Cf. the comments on both of them by Nicklas, *Ablösung und Verstrickung*, 23–30.

²⁸ Nevertheless, Stegemann/Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 264, list Acts 4:13 under the headings “Relativ arme/wohlhabende Unterschichtsmitglieder” and “Prosopographische Belege”, i.e. they regard 4:13 as connoting social status and translate the two adjectives as “ungebildete . . . und einfache . . . Leute”.

²⁹ Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v. γράμμα (about John 7:15 and Acts 4:13).

³⁰ For a very instructive approach of narrative criticism see Nicklas, *Ablösung und Verstrickung*, 76–90.

³¹ Nicklas, *Ablösung und Verstrickung*, 401. For an unbiased and precise assessment of the Jews in John see 401–9.

spoke openly of him διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων (7:13). Nevertheless, he is teaching in the Temple, above all during the week of Sukkoth, so that his presence must have been known and his words easily heard by others. According to the Gospel of John, ‘the Jews’ thus had the opportunity to be confronted with Jesus’ teaching, and then decide to accept or reject it (cf. 18:20).³²

However, John 7:15 at least “implies an evaluation of social status”.³³ The emphasis here is on “implies”, as the context itself proves that there is nothing wrong with someone teaching who does not ‘know letters’; and as demonstrated in detail for Acts 4:13 even those who are not used to read and write any more, who are illiterate or untrained in those skills were not discriminated against in late antiquity.³⁴ The *Didascalia Apostolorum* 1.2.1.2 tells us about a bishop who was illiterate (ἄγγραμματος), which was not a problem for his vocation. *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2673,34 contains the μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα formula and is about Aurelius Ammonius, lector (ἀναγνώστης) of a former village church. Of course, that must have referred to his knowledge of Greek, because the church services in the year 304 were held in Coptic.³⁵ On the basis of the text of John 7:15b itself, however, readers may sense such an implication of social status, based on their modern notion of illiteracy, but it will never be more than an implication, because the focus is on the miraculous and astounding fact that Jesus ‘know[s] letters without having learned [them]’. Additionally astonishment as the reaction of the bystanders is mentioned hereafter in 7:15 with ἐθαύμαζον and 7:21 with καὶ πάντες θαυμάζετε, which emphasizes the effect of and reaction to Jesus’ authoritative teaching, not to forget the use of θαυμάζω in 3:7; 4:27; 5:20, 28.³⁶ It is not astonishing that the reaction of the present Jews is qualified as ἐθαύμαζον, because θαυμάζω denotes that somebody is “extraordinarily impressed or disturbed by

³² On the motif of “umfassende Offenheit” (‘comprehensive openness’) see Labahn, ‘Die παρησία des Gottessohnes im Johannesevangelium’, in: Frey/Schnelle, *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums*, 324–9. In general, for the role of ‘the Jews’ in John cf. again Nicklas, *Ablösung und Verstrickung* (for 18:20, see 25 and 27).

³³ Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. γράμμα (3).

³⁴ See Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 338–42.

³⁵ Cf. Roberts, *Manuscripts, Society and Belief*, 65; Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 330.

³⁶ With the help of the lexeme θαυμάζω Rudolf Schnackenburg tries to justify that the original sequence of chapters might have been John 7 after 5, as θαυμάζω is not present in John 6 (*Das Johannesevangelium*, 183).

something”,³⁷ which is the best semantic explanation of the lexeme, or “to wonder or marvel at some event or object”.³⁸ Of course, the context can determine the meaning of a lexeme further. However, it is methodologically questionable to draw the meaning of a lexeme primarily from its context or to add specific attitudes or notions to its semantics.³⁹ Without doubt it is a matter of fact that in the Gospel of John θαυμάζω often refers to the Jews’ reaction to Jesus’ actions, teaching, or behavior (John 5:20, 28; 7:15, 21; but see 4:27 where the disciples’ reaction is given). Furthermore, the use of θαυμάζω can also be seen as a narrative means to attract the readers’ eyes (or listeners’ ears) to indicate that something extraordinary is taking place that has some revelatory background.⁴⁰ Those who hold that θαυμάζω is pejorative and that Jesus causes offense among the Jews depend on the general assessment of the role of the Jews in the Gospel of John. As far as semantics is concerned, the verb relates to the general reaction of human beings to astounding and incomprehensible occurrences, often linked with epiphany and the actions of god(s), which is analogous with the use of θαυμάζω in profane Greek.⁴¹ Thus, it is questionable to utilize a lexeme as an isolated piece of evidence for a hypothesis.

Consequently, John 7:15b should be regarded in an equal way as Acts 4:13 has been.⁴² There, Peter and John are designated as ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι...καὶ ἰδιῶται, which is best translated as ‘illiterate men and laymen’. The Sanhedrin did not express any disregard for the two apostles by qualifying them with those two adjectives, nor may we simply parallel Acts 4:13 “with our modern notions nor with the ideal of the classical authors.”⁴³

³⁷ Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. θαυμάζω (1α).

³⁸ Louw/Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 312 (25.213). But according to Louw/Nida more concise definitions depend on the context that decides whether “the reaction is favorable or unfavorable”, whatever that means in an individual case.

³⁹ For instance, the statement that in the Gospel of John θαυμάζω is “geradezu Terminus für den Anstoß, den Jesus mit seinem Wirken hervorruft” (Bertram, ‘Art. θαυμάζω’, 40), must be evaluated against the historical background of the ‘Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament’ (ThWNT). Annen (‘Art. θαυμάζω’, 334) cites Bertram’s statement as the final sentence of his article.

⁴⁰ Cf. Annen, ‘Art. θαυμάζω’, 333–4.

⁴¹ Cf. LSJ⁹, s.v. θαυμάζω; Annen, ‘Art. θαυμάζω’, 333–4.

⁴² See Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. θαυμάζω (1α), where Acts 4:13 and John 7:15 are mentioned in the same section.

⁴³ Kraus, “Uneducated”, 441. This, too, refers to the so-called ‘slow writers’ of (late) antiquity, who were neither excluded from everyday proceedings the common people had to face, nor looked upon by others because of their incapability of reading and

Finally, two texts may help to underline that conclusion drawn from the semantic, syntactic, and hermeneutical reassessment of John 7:15b:

(1) The *Vita Aesopi* G (= Codex 397 of the Pierpont Morgan Library = *recensio* 2) has γράμματα in three passages (chapters 37, 79, and 80) and *W* (= Westermanniana = *recensio* 3) in four (chapters 37, 92, and twice in 100).⁴⁴ The narrative character of the *Vita Aesopi* is quite similar to that of the Gospels, which makes this collection of episodes so interesting and possibly useful.⁴⁵ Explicitly in chapter 37 the *Vita Aesopi* G deals with the issue of literacy and wisdom and does that in a longer and more plausible dialogue than *W* does:⁴⁶ a gardener (κηπουρός) asked Zanthos a question, but the latter, after addressing the question, advised him to ask the slave they see at a distance. The gardener is surprised and inquires: ἴδε, οὗτος ὁ σαπρὸς γράμματα οἶδεν;—‘See, this ugly man [over there] knows letters?’⁴⁷ With a smile on his face Aesop tells the gardener ὦδε σύ, κακόπαθε—‘So, (are) you (an) unhappy man?’ Whereupon the gardener replies κακόπαθός εἰμι;—before he twice rejects (ναί) that he is an unhappy man.

This has in common with John 7:15 that against all outward appearance the uneducated is wiser and actually more learned than others are. There is a kind of internal and somewhat hidden truth, no matter if the person talked about is a slave, ugly, handicapped, or in any other way unusual. As far as the narrative is concerned, readers (or listeners) have the task to discover this hidden truth (cf. *Vita Aesopi* G 25).⁴⁸ So, by the use of γράμματα οἶδεν no pejorative emphasis is put on social

writing in an inadequate way. In detail and with many examples see Kraus, ‘(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri’, 322–41, and from a paleographical perspective idem, “‘Slow writers’”, 86–97. Besides, see the relevant studies by H.C. Youtie (in his *Scriptiunculae* II and *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I), and, especially for the Christian background, Gamble, *Books and Readers in the early Church*, 1–41.

⁴⁴ Cf. Perry, *Aesopica*. 1 (*recensio* 3 = G: pp. 35–77; *recensio* 2 = *W*: pp. 81–107).

⁴⁵ The passage referred to here is presented in a German translation and briefly discussed by Berger/Colpe, *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 164 (no. 285).

⁴⁶ In *W* chapter 37 opens with Zanthos talking to the gardener, who then says: οὗτος ὁ σαπρὸς γράμματα οἶδεν; οὐαὶ τῇ ἀτυχίᾳ.—‘This ugly man [over there] knows letters? Woe to ill-luck.’ Asked by the gardener to talk about what Zanthos had previously said, Aesop starts a long and lecture-like explanation.

⁴⁷ The Greek text is taken from the edition of Perry, *Aesopica*. 1, the English translation is mine. Berger/Colpe, *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 164, translate: “‘Sieh, dieser Häßliche da, der kennt Lesen und Schreiben!’ (wörtl.: Buchstaben, eig.: Elementarkenntnisse)”.

⁴⁸ Cf. Berger/Colpe, *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 164.

status and any lack of education, neither on the characters' side nor on the readers (or listeners).

(2) Miracle 45 of the *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla*, composed in the middle of the 5th century, is about the virtuous woman Xenarchis, who is given a Gospel book and to the surprise of the bystanders starts to read without having ever learned to do so. In this context the anonymous⁴⁹ author even allows the bystanders to cite John 7:15b (*mir. Thcl.* 45: Πὼς γράμματα οἶδεν αὕτη μὴ μεμαθηκυῖα but see John 7:15b: πὼς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς;) and explicitly names the Gospel as source. Xenarchis's illiteracy is not subject of any pejorative reaction; the women around her react with astonishment or even bewilderment (ἐκληξίς), which is simply the logical consequence of something surprising and incomprehensible. Analogous with John 7:15 and *Vita Aesopi* G 37 the bystanders react to the sudden occurrence of something totally unexpected. The readers (or listeners) of the stories, however, have the chance to get to the gist of the story: the innermost and somewhat hidden truth that there is revelatory action occurring on. Social status or any other negative connotation does not play any role.⁵⁰

Even if the two texts referred to in the previous paragraph are not from exactly the time we assume for the Gospel of John today, they can help to illuminate the meaning of the phrase under discussion in John 7:15b: (1) They help to generalize the matter of education (reading and writing), i.e. to get to the semantics of the phrase without overemphasizing the context in John as the necessary background for any understanding, and (2) they show how John 7:15b was applied to another context without any social implication and negative attribution. And so John 7:15b can be easily understood without any pejorative implications, as a narrative that employs a common and even conventional phrase that is witnessed in many non-literary papyri.

Addenda

The previous studies are relevant for this one, because this is another application of the generally formulated results and conclusions drawn

⁴⁹ It is commonly accepted today that we do not know the author of the *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla*. In former times it was attributed to Basil of Seleucia.

⁵⁰ See my "‘Knowing letters’ and (il)literacy in the *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla*", 281–306.

from the data accumulated. Nonetheless, my work on ἀγρόμματος brought forward some methodological reflections on the *hapax legomena*. I regard it as pivotal not to take the *hapax legomena* as a unique phenomenon but to regard them together with other rare words, as, for instance, the texts of the New Testament do not include a fixed and uniform canon of texts.⁵¹

Additionally, I treat John 7:15b in the course of a study on *Miracle 45* of the *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla*, in which this verse is cited. This miracle narrative offers further aspects of attitudes towards reading and writing in late antiquity. In this study I offer the Greek text and translate the complete miracle 45 into English for the first time, provide hermeneutical insights into its text and context, and focus on the issue of (il)literacy as presented in the *Life and Miracles* as a twofold corpus.

Bibliography

- Annen, F., 'Art. θαυμάζω', *EWNT*² 2, 332–4.
 Barrett, C.K., *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).
 Beasley-Murray, G.R., *John* (WBC 36; 2nd ed.; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1999).
 Berger, K./Colpe, C., *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Texte zum Neuen Testament. NTD.T 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987).
 Bertram, G., 'Art. θαυμάζω κτλ.', *ThWNT* 3, 27–42.
 Blass, F./Debrunner, A., *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (revised by F. Rehkopf; 17th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).
 Bowman, A.K./Woolf, G., (eds.), *Literacy & power in the ancient world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 Brown, R.E., *The Gospel according to John (i–xii)* (The Anchor Bible 29.1; Garden City/New York: Doubleday, 1966).
 Bultmann, R., *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (KEK 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).
 Danker, F.W. (ed.), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (based on W. Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*; 3rd ed.; Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).
 Frey, J./Schnelle, U., *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums* (WUNT 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).
 Gamble, H.Y., *Books and Readers in the early Church. A History of early Christian texts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
 Harris, W.V., *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge/Mass.-London: Harvard University Press, 1989).
 Kraus, T.J., '(Il)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects of the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times', *Mn.* 53 (2000) 322–41.

⁵¹ Cf. Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort*, 313–53 ('Die sogenannten *Hapax legomena* und andere weniger häufige Wörter').

- , “‘Knowing letters’ and (il)literacy in the *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla* (mir. Thcl. 45)”, *ASE* 23 (2006) 281–306.
- , “‘Slow writers’—βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?”, *Er* 97 (1999) 86–97.
- , “‘Uneducated’, ‘ignorant’, or even ‘illiterate’? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4.13”, *NTS* 45 (1999) 434–49.
- , *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (WUNT 2.136; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).
- Kümmel, W.G., *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments nach seinen Hauptzeugen* (Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament. NTDE 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ⁵1987).
- Labahn, M., ‘Die παρησία des Gottessohnes im Johannesevangelium. Theologische Hermeneutik und philosophisches Selbstverständnis’, in: Frey/Schnelle, *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums*, 324–9.
- Louw, J.P./Nida, E.A., (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains*. Vol. 1 (New York: United Bible Societies, ²1989).
- Meier, J.P., *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Vols. 1–3* (The Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York: Doubleday, 1991/1994/2001).
- Millard, A.R., *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).
- Moulton, J.H./Milligan, G., *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources* (Glasgow: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930).
- Müller, P., “Verstehst du auch, was du liest?” *Lesen und Verstehen im Neuen Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Nicklas, T., *Ablösung und Verstrickung. ‘Juden’ und ‘Jünger’gestalten als Charaktere der erzählten Welt des Johannesevangeliums und ihre Wirkung auf den impliziten Leser* (Regensburger Studien zur Theologie 60; Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 2001).
- Perry, B.E., *Aesopica*. Vol. 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952).
- Roberts, C.H., *Manuscripts, Society and Belief in Early Christianity. The Schweich Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Schnackenburg, R., *Das Johannesevangelium II. Teil: Kommentar zu Kap. 5–12* (HThK NT 4; 2nd ed.; Freiburg-Basel-Vienna: Herder Verlag, 1977).
- , *Das Johannesevangelium, Bd. I: Einleitung und Kommentar zu Kap. 1–4* (HThK 4.1; 7th ed.; Freiburg-Basel-Vienna: Herder, 1992).
- Stegemann, E.W./Stegemann, W., *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte. Die Anfänge im Judentum und die Christusgemeinden in der mediterranen Welt* (Stuttgart-Berlin-Cologne: W. Kohlhammer, 1995).
- Thomas, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Key Themes in Ancient History; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Van Tilborg, S., *Das Johannesevangelium. Ein Kommentar für die Praxis* (rev. by R. Dillmann and D. Dormeyer; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2005).
- Von Wahlde, U.C., ‘The Johannine ‘Jews’. A Critical Survey’, *NTS* 28 (1982) 33–60.
- Westcott, B.F., *The Gospel according to John. With Introduction and Notes and a new Introduction by A. Fox* (London: Clarendon, 1958).
- Wikenhauser, A., *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (RNT 4; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet Verlag ³1961).
- Youtie, H.C., *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).
- , *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE LENDING OF BOOKS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY C.E.* *POxy* LXIII 4365—A LETTER ON PAPYRUS AND THE RECIPROCAL LENDING OF LITERATURE HAVING BECOME APOCRYPHAL

1. *The problem*

Although quite small in size and with little text preserved (only six lines on 11.5 × 8 cm) the private letter *POxy* LXIII 4365 aroused considerable attention immediately after its first edition.¹ There is no doubt that the letter emerges from a Christian background due to the *nomina sacra*² $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ and $\overline{\theta\omega}$ and their usage in a conventional form of greeting (cf. ll. 2 and 6)³ and the salutation of the female addressee as φιλότατη ἀδελφή.⁴ Similarly there is a workable consensus about the dating of the papyrus to the start of the 4th century.⁵ However, λεπτή Γένεσις

* Originally published as ‘Bücherleihe im 4. Jh. n. Chr. *POxy* LXIII 4365—ein Brief auf Papyrus und die gegenseitige Leihe von apokryph gewordener Literatur’, *Biblos* 50 (2001) 285–296. Used with kind permission.

¹ The letter is on the reverse of a petition, published as *POxy* LXIII 4364. Cf. the comments of the editor J. Rea, *POxy* LXIII, 44–45. A high-resolution image of the papyrus is available on the Internet site of *POxy*: Oxyrhynchus Online (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>; last access 11/04/2006).

² The relevant literature for a sound assessment of *nomina sacra* and a thesis worth discussing is presented by Hurtado, ‘The Origin of the Nomina Sacra’, 655–73. In addition, see the invaluable reflections by Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 119–25.

³ Above all see Naldini, *Il cristianesimo in Egitto*, 10–12, 22–3. together with the critical notes by Wipszycka, ‘Remarques sur les lettres privées chrétiennes des II^e–IV^e siècles’, 203–21; Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del II e IV secolo d.C.*, 29–20. The relation between *nomina sacra* and the form of greeting as an indication to identify a private letter as Christian is emphasized by Hagedorn, ‘Die “Kleine Genesis” in *POxy* LXIII 4365’, 147; Judge/Pickering, ‘Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt’, 69. As pieces of evidence see the following papyri discussed by Judge and Pickering (date and page numbers in parentheses): *PBas.* I 16 (early III^c; 50–1), *PGot.* 11 (III–IV; 55–6), *PGiss.* I 103 (309 or later; 56–7) and *PAbinn.* 6–8.19 (340–50; 57–8). Additionally see the reflections on the question “How can one tell whether a letter may have been written by a Christian or not?” by Judge, *Rank and Status*, 20–26 (quote 20).

⁴ This primarily refers to ἀδελφή. Cf. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo in Egitto*, 15–6. The use of the superlative φιλότατη corresponds with the usual letter conventions as proved by Gonis, ‘Notes on two epistolary conventions’, 148–52. See further LSJ, s.v. φιλότατος (Supplement).

⁵ Rea judges the striking absence of the names of the sender (either male or female)

in line 5 has initiated speculation: does it refer to the first book of the Old or First Testament,⁶ which then may even have been a miniature codex edition,⁷ or does it mean the *Book of Jubilees*?⁸

This is not the only question that is going to be tackled in this study. The letter rather initiates further reflections and raises other questions: what does the mention of ὁ Ἑσδρας and ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις as objects of lending tell about the distribution, significance, and esteem of the texts meant here? Which specific aims did the lending of books have in general? Even if no ultimate irrefutable answers to these questions are to be expected, this study is meant to facilitate a deeper understanding of the process of lending books and the two objects of the lending process, the two books, mentioned in the papyrus letter.

In order to make references and a discussion easier and more comprehensible, the transcription⁹ and translation of the *editio princeps* by John Rea are reprinted:

1. τῇ κυρίᾳ μου φιλάτῃ ἀδελ-
φῇ ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.
χρῆσον τὸν Ἑσδραν,
ἐπεὶ ἔχρησά σοι τὴν
5. λεπτὴν Γένεσιν.
ἔρρωσο ἡμεῖν ἐν θ(ε)ῶ.
6. *lege* ἡμῖν

and the female addressee as “a degree of discretion” due to which the letter was written before the conquest of Egypt by Constantine in 325. Linguistic parallels between the letter on the reverse and the petition on the front of the papyrus back the date further. Cf. Rea, in: *POxy. LXIII*, p. 44. Accepted by Hagedorn, “Kleine Genesis”, 147. Besides, the joint use of φίλτατος and ἀδελφός makes the date very probable, too. Cf. Gonis, ‘Notes’, 148 (“... where [in *POxy. LXIII* 4365, 1–2] we find a construction that would have seemed intolerable in earlier times”) and 150 (“... in no other private letter from the first three centuries of Roman rule in Egypt does φίλτατος qualify ἀδελφός”).

⁶ Cf. Rea, *POxy. LXIII*, p. 44.

⁷ This is the conclusion of Otranto, ‘*Alia tempore, alii libri*. Notizie’, 107–8. In her study Rosa Otranto treats seven Greek documentary papyri from the 4th to the 7th or 8th century, i.e. additionally to *POxy. LXIII* there are notes on *PAsh.inv.* 3, *PGrenfell II* 111, *PPrag.* II 178 (= *PWessely Prag.* II 117 + III 45 + IV 110 + IV 146 + IV 50a), I 87 (= *PWessely Prag.* I 13), *PVindob.G.* 26015 and *PLeid.Inst.* 13 (= *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XV 13).

⁸ Cf. Hagedorn, “Kleine Genesis”, 148; Franklin, ‘A Note’, 95–6; Hilhorst, ‘Erwähnt *POxy. LXIII* 4365 das Jubiläenbuch?’, 192.

⁹ The transcription follows the convention of the so-called ‘Leiden system’. Cf. the preface of this volume.

“To my dearest lady sister, greetings in the Lord. Lend the Ezra, since I lent you the little Genesis. Farewell in God from us.”

2. Ὁ Ὑἱσδραξ and ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις—*objects of a reciprocal lending*

The absence of the names of the sender (either male or female) and the female addressee is quite unusual and at the same time regrettable, because so there are no names there which can serve as an important source of information for careful conclusions.¹⁰ It must remain unaddressed whether Aurelia Soteira alias Hesychium mentioned on the other side of the papyrus (*POxy.* LXIII 4364.6–7) should be considered for this letter or not.¹¹ More obvious is the identification of that text denominated as Ὁ Ὑἱσδραξ as the object given in the lending. On the basis of finds at Oxyrhynchos a leaf of parchment of a miniature codex from the fourth century (*POxy.* VII 1010¹²) with some Greek of 4 *Ezra* and the use of exactly this denomination in a list of books from the seventh or eighth century (*PLugd.Bat.* XXV 13.36 = *PLeid. Inst.* 13.36), it appears justified to conclude that line 3 of the letter means 4 *Ezra*.¹³ Nonetheless, all the other handed down apocryphal Ezra literature must be taken into account as potential texts referred to in *POxy.* LXIII 4365.¹⁴

As indicated at the beginning of this study lines 4 to 5 proved quite difficult as far as the identification of the text named there is concerned. What does the book title ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις mean? It becomes apparent, however, that it does not refer to the first book of the Old or First Testament but the *Book of Jubilees*. Various pieces of evidence,

¹⁰ See the relevant literature in Rupprecht, *Papyruskunde*, 40, 160, 194.

¹¹ Instructive are the thoughts of Rea, in: *POxy.* LXIII, p. 44, and Franklin, ‘A Note’, 95 (“The letter... appears to be in a comparable—though larger—hand.”). See further n. 5.

¹² Additional to the edition, see van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 574.

¹³ Cf. Rea, in: *POxy.* LXIII, p. 44; Hagedorn, “‘Kleine Genesis’”, 147; Franklin, ‘A Note’, 95. Fundamental titles with further literature are, for instance, Metzger, ‘The Fourth Book of Ezra’, 516–59; Duensing/Santos Otero, ‘Das fünfte und sechste Buch Esra’, 581–90; Röwekamp, ‘Esra-Literatur’, 202.

¹⁴ Correctly Hagedorn, “‘Kleine Genesis’”, 147. For a broader background consult Stone, ‘Greek Apocalypse of Ezra’, 561–79; Mueller/Robbins, ‘Vision of Ezra’, 582–590; Stone, ‘Questions of Ezra’, 591–99; Fiensy, ‘Revelation of Ezra’, 601–03. For a quick overview see Sæbø, ‘Esra/Estraschriften’, 374–86; Röwekamp, ‘Esra-Literatur’, 202.

above all from Byzantine times, testify to the common use of this term for the Greek version of this apocryphal text¹⁵ that was very popular and widely distributed, for which not only the broad attestation by the Hebrew fragments of Qumran¹⁶ but also the various translations bear witness.¹⁷ Similarly out of the question is to think of a miniature codex of the book of Genesis for the term in line 5, not least because of the references that have just been indicated. Epiphanius of Salamis settles the case by unambiguously identifying ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις with the *Book of Jubilees* in his *Pan. haer.* 39.6.1: Ὡς δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὐρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γένεσει καλουμένη.¹⁸ And in 39.6.5 he refers to this once again: ὡς ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις περιέχει. Immediately after that Epiphanius distinguishes between Genesis and the *Book of Jubilees* and by adding clear attributes he tries to rule out any confusion because of the word Γένεσις (39.6.6): ἔχεις δὲ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἔμφατιν ἐν τῇ Γένεσει τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πρώτῃ παρὰ Μωυσῆ [bold print mine]. Furthermore, it has to be stressed that λεπτή does not necessarily mean only “small”. The length of the *Book of Jubilees* is already a first counterargument, if this meaning is fitting here at all,¹⁹ the semantics of the adjective at stake a second.²⁰ But there is additional evidence against the assumption of a miniature codex meant by ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις: if the codices in the 4th century were actually that small—what cannot be proved by the preserved relevant fragments and manuscripts—why then should this

¹⁵ On the Greek version see Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, 150–62; idem, *Fragmentae pseudépigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*, 70–102. Additionally, see Milik, ‘Recherches sur la version grecque du Livre des Jubilés’, 545–57; Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés*, 10 and n. 4; Schelbert, ‘Jubiläenbuch’, 285–6.

¹⁶ Cf. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 238–45; Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 507–12; Flint, ‘“Apocrypha”’, 24–65 esp. 45–50. Further for a general orientation (also about the editions in the series ‘Discoveries of the Judaean Desert’), see the indices in the same volume by Flint, ‘Appendix II’, 665–8, and Tov, ‘Appendix III’, 669–717.

¹⁷ A fine survey is offered by Testuz, *Idées religieuses*, 7–42; Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 1–17; idem, *The Book of Jubilees*, V–XXXIV; Wintermute, ‘Jubilees’, 35–142; Schelbert, ‘Jubiläenbuch’, 285–9; Albani et al., *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*; Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World*, 151–56, 159–64, 272–75.

¹⁸ Quoted from the edition Epiphanius II, *Panarion* 76.16–18 (ed. Holl; ²1980). In a note to these lines Jubilees 4.9–11 is mentioned. Further, see the references in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People* 3.1, 315–6.

¹⁹ Similarly Schelbert, ‘Jubiläenbuch’, 285–6. Additionally, see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* 3.1, 309.

²⁰ Above all, cf. Franklin, ‘A Note’, 95–6: “‘Little Genesis’ (ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις) is neither little nor Genesis. Ἀεπτή here means ‘detailed’, rather than the opposite of little.” See also but with care the notes in Page 2, s.v. λεπτός; LSJ, s.v. λεπτός.

feature have been emphasized in such a determined way?²¹ There was no need to point out peculiarities and striking features then, and there is none today. The library inventory *PVars.* 5,²² for instance, contains an explicit stress on the fact that some of the rolls in the aforementioned library were opisthographs. Thus, something is explicitly emphasized that does not correspond with the convention, i.e. that rolls are only written upon their inside. The normal case would have not required any mention.

Not only do we then have evidence of the Greek *Book of Jubilees* (originally based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* but at the same time the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopian and Latin versions) for the time from 347 to 377, the time of composition of Epiphanius's *Panarion omnium haeresium*,²³ but even for the time before 325 when this private letter on papyrus was probably written. Whether the years around or even before 221 can be made plausible as the time of composition of the Greek *Book of Jubilees* depends on whether Sextus Julius Africanus²⁴ really utilizes the Greek *Book of Jubilees* in his πέντε χρονογραφίαν σπουδάσματα (additional to this, in his *hist. eccl.* 6.31 Eusebius mentions two letters and the *Cesti* as other writings by Julius Africanus). In principle, this seems to be possible, but any claim here remains hypothetical, and this issue cannot be solved in this study.²⁵ Thus, on safe grounds, *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4365 constitutes “das älteste Zeugnis für das Vorhandensein der griechischen Übersetzung”²⁶ (‘the oldest witness to the existence of a Greek translation’) in form of an artifact. Moreover, it becomes evident that two texts are addressed in an exchange or, to be more precise, reciprocal lending process that

²¹ Cf. the logical argumentation of Hilhorst, ‘Erwähnt P.Oxy. LXIII 4365 das Jubiläenbuch?’, 192, against the assumption of a miniature codex by Otranto, ‘*Alia tempora, alia libri*’, 107–8.

²² Edited by Manteuffel, ‘De novo quodam librorum librorum inventario’, 367–73, and in *PVars.* (1935, reprinted 1974 with an addendum by Z. Borkowski]. See further the description by Harrauer, ‘Bücher in Papyri’, 63–4 *PVars.* 1–5 are also published as *SB VI* 9372–9375.

²³ According to Hagedorn, “‘Kleine Genesis’”, 148, and Löhr, ‘Epiphanius von Salamis’, 196–8, esp. 196.

²⁴ Cf. Sickenberger, ‘(47) Iulius (Africanus)’, 116–25; Broszio, ‘Julius Africanus’, 363–4.

²⁵ Franklin, ‘A Note’, 96, tries to gain such a date for the Book of Jubilees on the basis of its potential use by Sextus Julius Africanus. Nonetheless, it is still unsolved whether he really refers to the *Book of Jubilees*, as the mutual references in chronicles from Byzantine time are quite late and not unambiguous. See Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 8.

²⁶ Hagedorn, “‘Kleine Genesis’”, 148. Similarly Franklin, ‘A Note’, 96.

were not integrated into the canon, no matter which of the Ezra texts is to be taken for ὁ Ἑσδράς in the letter.

3. Socio-cultural remarks on the lending of books

In literary and papyrological sources there are various and varied attestations of the book trade in (late) antiquity, and especially the distribution of books apart from the official and commercial area, so that it can be reconstructed in a quite reliable way.²⁷ The skills in reading and writing, the drawing up of copies, and the possession of books are interrelated with a certain social status, as for all of them sufficient financial resources²⁸ are necessary as a general prerequisite. The purchase of literary texts, no matter from a book dealer, by means of a copyist or on the market of used books,²⁹ always indicates prosperity and a social stratum (middle or upper class). Even if due to the Greco-Roman ideal of education the skills of reading and writing, the reading of specific literary texts, and the preoccupation with philosophical texts were promoted, the reality actually differed from that ideal.³⁰ Essential information in this field of research is provided by the relevant references in the diverse documentary papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt, even if today's social stigma of illiteracy cannot be verified by the papyri of those days.³¹

²⁷ Among others, see Dziatzko, 'Buchhandel', 973–95; Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 146–70, 188–90; Norman, 'The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch', 122–6; Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike*; Wiggers, 'Buchhandel', 960–1; Starr, 'The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World', 213–23; Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, 113–32; Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church*, 82–143; Camassa/Hild, 'Buch', 809–16, esp. 812–4. Of special importance is the survey on the attestation of books in papyrological texts from everyday life by Harrauer, 'Bücher in Papyri', 59–77. On the importance and use of the term 'edition' or 'publication' see van Groningen, 'Ἑκδοσις', 1–17.

²⁸ Cf. Harvey, 'Literacy', 589; R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*, 152–4; Kraus, '(Il)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri', 340–2.

²⁹ Specifically Starr, 'The Used-Book Trade', 148–57.

³⁰ In detail Kraus, '(Il)literacy', 322–42. Further, see Harvey, 'Literacy', 585–635; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 273; Botha, 'Greco-Roman Literacy', 195–215; Müller, „*Verstehst du auch, was du liest?*“, 29–30.

³¹ Essential in this context are the works of H.C. Youtie, collected and printed with additional notes as *Scriptunculae II* and *Scriptunculae Posteriores I*. See also Kraus, "Uneducated", 434–49; *ibid.*, "Slow writers", 86–97; *ibid.*, '(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri', 322–42. About school education in the Greco-Roman world cf. Harrauer/Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students*, and the reviews by Vössing, Johnson, and Bucking.

Besides, papyri are even important for knowledge about the lending of books, because they present aspects of everyday life at that time in an unadulterated way just as fingerprints do. In the second half of the fifth century C.E., for instance, a lawyer in Hermupolis admonishes a colleague in a letter to return borrowed books as soon as possible (*P.Berol.* 21849 = *SB XII* 11084),³² which are a commentary on Demosthenes by Alexander Claudius and works by Menander (a ‘*Techne*’, the ‘*Methods*’ and ‘*Orations*’). Another letter (*POxy.* XVIII 2192),³³ written 300 years earlier, draws further conclusions for this area. The sender asks for acquisition and sending of exemplars of the books VI and VII of the *Κωμωδοῦμένοι* of a Hypsicrates, and he³⁴ remarks that he knows a certain Polion, said, according to his knowledge, to have still got the *τραγικοὶ μῦθοι* of a Thersagoras. Another hand adds information about the book trader Demetrios, who is said to have the books looked for in stock. Obviously there was a circle of educated people, who were not only in constant and close contact with each—as proved by their common letter—but also with the *βιβλιοπώλης* Demetrios. They do not search for standard works but for authors that have fallen into oblivion today. Besides, it is interesting that the addressee is asked to let somebody make copies of every book he knows the sender does not possess and send them to him.

More on the commercial side, a message on an ostrakon from the seventh century (*O.Vindob.KO* 368³⁵) states that a book is not produced unless the payment has been received. Other ostraca (*O.Vindob.KO* 243 and 430³⁶) from that time provide evidence for an active dispatch of

³² Edited by Maehler, ‘Menander Rhetor and Alexander Claudius in a Papyrus Letter’, 305–11. See also Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri*, no. 91 (pp. 227–9); Harrauer, ‘Bücher in Papyri’, 68. According to Maehler, the texts that are demanded back may motivate reflections upon the possibility that the sender of the letter needed these for the drawing up of a eulogy or a panegyric.

³³ Additional to the *editio princeps* see Turner, ‘Roman Oxyrhynchus’, 78–93, esp. 91–2; idem, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, no. 68 (commentary and plate); Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, 129.

³⁴ The masculine pronoun is used in order to achieve a brief formulation. As the letter *POxy.* LXIII 4365 proves, the sender of the letter and every hand/writer mentioned here could have been male or female.

³⁵ Cf. Till, *Die koptischen Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, no. 292; Harrauer, ‘Bücher in Papyri’, 22, 71; Buschhausen, *Der Lebenskreis der Kopten*, no. 38 (plate on p. 34). However, it may not automatically be true that the copy of a *Vortage* was definitely cheaper than purchasing a (used) exemplar from a book dealer. See Starr, ‘Used-Book Trade’, 151, 156.

³⁶ Cf. Till, *Die koptischen Ostraka*, nos. 291 and 290; Harrauer, ‘Bücher in Papyri’, 71; Buschhausen, *Der Lebenskreis der Kopten*, nos. 36 and 37.

texts, partly accompanied by an explicit mention of a payment for the book (*OVindob.KO* 601)³⁷ or without any, often due to the space available on the ostrakon or the few lines left. Book inventories, book lists or dockets of book dispatches help to complete the picture of the book trade in the seventh century, which the Coptic ostraca in the papyrus collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna paint.³⁸ The request to receive books—at that time with an evident Christian background—appears as something that has become part of everyday life. Specifically Christian books are mentioned on a papyrus from the sixth or seventh century (*PPrag* I 87).³⁹ Furthermore, a book inventory is written on its verso. Another small piece of papyrus (*Stud.Pal.* X 253) even tells about a sort of lending charge for books in line 7: $\mu\iota\sigma\theta(\omicron\upsilon)\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}(\omega\nu)$.⁴⁰

Not only can conclusions be drawn on the fact of the (reciprocal) lending of books but also on the purpose of such lending processes. Obviously, Cicero borrowed books from others quite often in order to make private copies of them (*Ad. Att.* 2.20.6).⁴¹ Moreover, it seems reasonable to assume for Cicero that he himself lent books he possessed to others (implied in *Ad. Att.* 16.5.5). In another context Cicero gives us to understand that the poor availability of certain books in his day makes his friends' help to get them and the lending of books itself necessary (*Ad. Quint. frat.* 3.4.5 and 3.5.1–3.6.6). This additional possibility enabled Cicero to enlarge the stock of his private library.⁴² For the time of the closing quarter of the fourth century Jerome confirms the lending of books. He allows us to see that he could have a considerable number of books available and that he used the opportunity of lending and borrowing books in order to make copies (*Epist.* 5.2). In these lines of

³⁷ Cf. Till, *Die koptischen Ostraka*, no. 294; Harrauer, 'Bücher in Papyri', 71; Buschhausen, *Der Lebenskreis der Kopten*, no. 40.

³⁸ See Harrauer, 'Bücher in Papyr', 70–2; Buschhausen, *Der Lebenskreis der Kopten*, Nos. 33–40, with reference to the catalogue entries in Till, *Die koptischen Ostraka*.

³⁹ Re-published by R. Dostálová in *PPrag* I (= *Pap.Flor.* XVI) accompanied by an image (plate LXXIX). See her earlier 'Der "Bücherkatalog" Pap. Wess. Gr. Prag. I 13', 539–47. Further on *PPrag* I 87 Otranto, 'Alia tempora, alii libri', 101–24.

⁴⁰ Cf. Preisigke/Kießling I, s.v. $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ referring to *Stud.Pal.* X 253,7: "Zahlung $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, Leihgebühr".

⁴¹ *a Vibio libros accepi. poëta ineptus, et tamen scit nihil; sed est non inutilis. describo et remitto.* Quoted from the edition of Shackleton Bailey (Vol. I [1987]) 82. Similarly *Ad Att.* 2,22.7: *Libros Alexandri... tibi remisi* (87). Further, see Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, 118–9; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 86 (and about the role of T. Pomponius Atticus).

⁴² Especially *Ad Att.* 1 offers additional references. Cf. Starr, 'Used-Book Trade', 154–5; Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, 153–6, 181–3.

his letter to Florentinus, Jerome testifies to the possibility of lending books for the purpose of making copies for private use as delineated earlier for Cicero. That was especially of importance for the Church Fathers, because they were often covered with special works, which as expected never reached a broader readership and in general were of no particular interest to the book dealers.⁴³ Moreover, at another place Jerome refers to an additional function of the lending of books, namely the reading of the book by the borrowers themselves, which suggests itself when he talks about the martyr Pamphilus. Interestingly he stresses that Pamphilus lent books not only to men but also to women⁴⁴ (*Contra Rufinum* 1.9).⁴⁵ We learn about Pamphilus that the lending of manuscripts even served the purpose of collating a manuscript in one's possession with others. A critical collation and the making of corrections takes into account that a copy must not differ too much from its *Vorlage*, being spoilt by careless mistakes or deliberate alterations on the scribe's side.⁴⁶ Apart from this it appears that authors, who could hardly expect any financial return but if only possibly a non-material profit from their own works, lent their works for the purpose that others could draw up copies or make somebody else copy them.⁴⁷

As a result of the aforementioned, books were borrowed (and lent) for diverse purposes. These are the drawing up of a (private) copy, either by the borrowers themselves or a scribe instructed to copy the *Vorlage*,

⁴³ Cf. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, 118–9, 231 n. 9, indicating the additional references by Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 109–11.

⁴⁴ About the obligatory legal representative (κύριος) and the issue of the social status of women and their skills of reading and writing (in Greco-Roman Egypt), see Kraus, '(I)literacy', 339, esp. n. 51 offering relevant literature. Additionally see Sawyer, *Women and Religion in the first Christian Centuries*; Cotton, 'The guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of a woman', 267–73; *ibid.*, 'Deeds of gift and the law of succession', 179–86.

⁴⁵ Here Jerome quotes from Eusebius's *Vita Pamph.*, according to which the aforementioned Pamphilus had enough books available for those—men and women—who were willing to read the (Holy) Scriptures: *Scripturas quoque sanctas non ad legendum tantum, sed et ad habendum tribuebat promptissime, nec solum uiris, sed et feminis quas uidisset lectioni deditas. Unde et multos codices praeeparabat, ut, cum necessitas poposcisset, uolentibus largiretur.* Quoted from the edition of Lardet (SC 303 [1983]), 26 and 28. Cf. also Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 158.

⁴⁶ See the *subscriptio* at the end of the Book of Esther in the famous Codex Sinaiticus, according to which Pamphilus corrected the manuscript that was copied from Origen's Hexapla after Antoninus the Confessor had collated it with its *Vorlage*. Cf. Pöhlmann, *Einführung in die Überlieferungsgeschichte*, 81–2, 136–7 n. 37 (there, the Greek text is quoted from the edition of Esther by Hanhart (*Esther* [Gottingensis 8.3] ad loc.)).

⁴⁷ Probably, a book dealer (βιβλιοπώλης) might have played a role in that lending process or the lender handed the book directly over to the borrower. Vgl. Blanck, *Buch in der Antike*, 119–20; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 87.

i.e. at the same time enlarging their own stock or collection of books,⁴⁸ the collation and correction of an exemplar of the book in one's possession, the individual reading of the borrowed book, either as wide practice being read out aloud (in public or private)⁴⁹ or, as commonly underestimated, being read silently (then in private),⁵⁰ the use in one's profession (cf. *P.Berol.* 21849 = *SB* XII 11048, a lawyer's letter), and last but not least the indication of one's own or one's preferred books. Due to the fact that some particular titles were hard to find, the specific contents of some books (above all theological ones), and the stock of some book shops that did not conform to their clients' interests,⁵¹ lending provided an adequate opportunity of finally getting the book searched for. As the examples mentioned above prove, lending often occurred on the basis of an exchange of books; and that promoted the distribution and spread of books and texts. This latter intention does not apply to Pamphilus, who pursued a pedagogic and missionary interest when he lent biblical texts to others.

4. *The lending process in P.Oxy. LXIII 4365*

In conclusion, there is one unanswered question that is now going to be tackled here: how far and in what respect can the general results about the lending of books be applied to the special case in *P.Oxy. LXIII 4365*? As far the history of literature is concerned, Dieter Hagedorn has correctly pointed to the high significance of this private letter on

⁴⁸ This is supported by *PFay.* 104 from the 3rd century C.E. with a list with the passage *θηκίων β εις βειβ[λί]α* in line 5. Thus, the text mentions 'two shelves for books'. Due to the bad condition of the piece of papyrus and the few words left, any conclusion must be carefully drawn.

⁴⁹ Cf. Balough, 'Voces Paginarum', 84–109, 202–40; Hendrickson, 'Ancient Reading', 182–96, supplemented by Clark, 'Ancient Reading', 698–70; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 203–8; Müller, '„Verstehst du auch“', 18–25. Additionally see Kraus, 'Ad fontes: Gewinn', 10–14, where implications in this respect are given concluded from the comparison of the layout of papyrus codices.

⁵⁰ Cf. Knox, 'Silent Reading in Antiquity', 421–35; Gavrilov, 'Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity', 56–73. Gavrilov apparently succeeds in providing decisive proof for silent reading by re-interpreting Augustine's *Conf.* 6.3.3–4, which was always taken as obvious and unambiguous evidence for loud reading as the predominant way of reading (for instance, understood that way by Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 322–3 n. 1), and in drawing attention to the neglected importance of silent reading by referring to 8.12.29 (reading *in silentio*). See further Blanck, *Buch in der Antike*, 71–4, esp. 71–2.

⁵¹ That may have resulted from the few scribes who made copies for payment, such as to be assumed for Antioch in the 4th century. See Norman, 'The Book Trade', 126.

papyrus as the oldest extant witness to the existence of the Greek version of the *Book of Jubilees*. The definite purpose of this reciprocal lending process between (male or female) sender and female addressee, however, cannot be determined precisely. By taking into account the texts that became objects of the lending and the socio-cultural milieu the two participants in the lending process might have belonged to, some purposes appear as more probable scenarios than others.

Without doubt the letter derives from a Christian background and presupposes a certain level of trust between the two people in regards to its time of composition at the beginning of the fourth century. The absence of names may be determined by the fact that in that time Christianity was not officially recognized, so that this implies experiences with secrecy and persecution on the sender's and the female addressee's side.⁵²

The objects of the lending are two texts that were designated as apocryphal later on, but then were not regarded as unusual or even peculiar. Jewish apocalypses such as *4 Ezra* were not only adopted by Christians, because the delay of the *Parousia* made them always appear as relevant to the current situation, but, furthermore, because there were not any inconsistencies between them and the idea of death and the life to come, above all the eschatological events and expectations. In the course of the reception of the Old or First Testament it seemed reasonable to read the Jewish apocalypses as well. Even the starting production of Christian apocalypses did not have any detrimental effect on that.⁵³ Also it is nothing unusual that the *Book of Jubilees* is mentioned in that context, with the exception—as delineated earlier—that this letter is the earliest known witness to its Greek version, for because of its contents and its literary nature Jubilees represents “ein bedeutsames Zeugnis für die frühjüdische Schriftauslegung, ihre Aktualisierung für eine neue Situation angesichts einer tödlichen Identitätskrise, und zwar in Form einer ‘Neuausgabe’ der alten Schrift, die nicht weniger Autorität erhebt als das erste Gesetz (1, 26; 6, 22; 30, 21; 50, 6)...”⁵⁴ (‘a significant witness to the early Jewish interpretation of scripture, its

⁵² As assumed by Rea, *POxy LXIII*, p. 44, and confirmed as plausible by Hagedorn, “‘Kleine Genesis’”, 147.

⁵³ For an introduction to the topic ‘apocalypses’ see Schwart, ‘Apokalyptik/Apokalypsen: V. Alte Kirche’, 257–75, esp. 257–8, 265. Additionally see the references in n. 13.

⁵⁴ Schelbert, ‘Jubiläenbuch’, 288.

adaptation to a new situation of being confronted with a fatal identity crisis, i.e. in the form of a 'second edition' of the ancient scriptures, which did not have less authority than the first law had'). Obviously it is exactly this tendency of updating and interpreting the tradition from the Creation to the revelation at Sinai in a shape more concentrated on narration and dates than the first and second book of the Old or First Testament that contributed to the great popularity of the *Book of Jubilees* among early Christians.

Both the apocalyptic text of *4 Ezra* and the long *Book of Jubilees*, which is saturated with exegetical tendencies, imply (in regard of their nature) that the reciprocal lending did not have the purpose of being read in public. Although *Jubilees* possessed no less authority than the Scriptures, it remains doubtful whether *Jubilees* had such an authoritative standing among Christians of the beginning fourth century. For them texts containing exegetical and paraphrasing tendencies were continuously losing credit in contrast to those that were explicitly dealing with the life, work, and message of Jesus Christ. Corresponding to that it is very improbable that the purpose of the lending process referred to in the letter was to collate a manuscript with another. There is just as little support for the intention of distributing the books or for making them known better. Of course, it still remains possible that a side effect of the lending was to have an opportunity to draw up a private copy or to engage a scribe to do so. The main purpose of the lending, however, that of private reading, i.e. private study, of the texts in question seems most reasonable, no matter if a private copy might have been made then on that occasion.

This allows some conclusions to be carefully drawn about the social milieu of the two persons involved in that lending process. As illustrated by certain conventions of contract law in official papyrus documents,⁵⁵ only a minority could enjoy the privilege of private reading. In this context the skills of reading and writing are primarily associated with the upper strata of society, who could afford an excellent education and the natural and continuous occupation with new texts. Without doubt, the many well-educated house slaves who had a certain social status must not be forgotten in this context. Nevertheless, the two people mentioned in *POxy.* LXIII 4365 are likely to be members of

⁵⁵ Cf. Kraus, "Uneducated", 441–4; *ibid.*, '(Il)literacy in non-literary papyri', 333–4.

an educated and thus privileged upper stratum of society.⁵⁶ This has to be particularly stressed in regard to the mention of a woman as lender for 4 *Ezra*, because women in that time did not have easy access to educational institutions and resources. The stress laid on this aspect has to be intensified, if the lender of the *Book of Jubilees* was female, too. This, however, cannot be finally settled.⁵⁷

The scenario behind *P.Oxy. LXIII 4365* could be as follows: a Christian woman lends 4 *Ezra* to that person—male or female—for private reading, from whom she herself has borrowed the *Book of Jubilees*. The two persons involved are educated, i.e. they can read and write, and belong to a sort of upper stratum of society. Date of composition and absence of names indicate a time in which Christianity was not officially recognized and was still under persecution and oppression, the last period to be considered that under Emperor Diocletian. At the same time, *P.Oxy. LXIII 4365* is the first and earliest mention of the Greek version of the *Book of Jubilees*.

Addenda

Unfortunately, some of the dots below the line to mark letters as doubtful or the reading as uncertain did not show up in print of the German original article in *Biblos* or got mixed up with signs for breathings or accents of the line below, here indicated in bold print: l. 3 **χρησον**, l. 4 **ἐπεί**). What is more serious is that line 4 was printed as **ἐπεί σοι τήν** but according to my original file and to the *editio princeps* it should be read as **ἐπεί ἔχρησά σοι τήν**, without the verb missing.

At the time of writing this study I was not aware of a new, revised, and enlarged edition of Mario Naldini's classic volume with private letters on papyrus from the second to the fourth century (*Il cristianesimo in Egitto*) published in 1998 in the series 'Bibliotheca Patristica' as volume 32. Further, I could not utilize Kim Haines-Eitzen's *Guardians of*

⁵⁶ Additional to the literature provided in n. 31 cf. Müller, „Verstehst du auch“, 30; Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 231. Legitimately, Judge/Pickering, 'Papyrus Documentation', 69–70, and Judge, *Rank and Status*, 9–10, point out that the assumption that early Christians belonged to the lower stratum of society may not necessarily correspond to reality. Such a notion was determined for a long time by assessments like that of Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 5.2.17 and Origen *Cels.* 1.62, according to which early Christians are seen in connection with the lower strata of society.

⁵⁷ Cf. the notes and literature provided in n. 44.

Letters, which appeared in 2000 and in which she argues for the private exchange of early Christian literature and, in particular, private scribal networks in the second and third centuries,⁵⁸ and the reprinted paragraphs on *POxy*. LXIII 4365 of Rosa Otranto's article in *Aegyptus* in her monograph on ancient book lists on papyri. I had already finished my own study when her volume was published in 2000, which focuses primarily on those papyri she had dealt with previously (for the papyri, see n. 7 above).⁵⁹ Moreover, I referred to Ruzena Dostálová's edition of *PPrag* I 87 (see above n. 39). The same author edited another inventory of books among the Prague papyri as *PPrag*. II 178 and worked on, which was also dealt with by Rosa Otranto (see above n. 7).⁶⁰

In the meantime I had the opportunity to study the parchment leaf from a miniature codex with verses from 4 *Ezra* I mentioned above (*POxy*. VII 1010 = *Bodl. MS. Gr. bibl. g* 3 [P]) in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It has 4 *Ezra* 15.57–59, which is an addendum to the fourteen chapters of 4 *Ezra* and usually regarded as a Christian apocalypse and often called 6 *Ezra*.⁶¹ This small but complete single-column folio of only 5.2 × 8.3 cm has pagination on its flesh side (μ, i.e. 40). It might be a matter of dispute if 39 pages or leafs preceded and how then 56 verses were distributed on them.⁶² Be that as it may, the pocket edition that this leaf is from proves that 6 *Ezra* was not only in circulation as a kind of appendix of 4 *Ezra*, but had a life of its own and circulated independently. Of course, as Eldon Jay Epp, who writes about the private letter *POxy*. LXIII 4365 and the exchange of books between Christians in Oxyrhynchus in a study from 2004,⁶³ points out, “only the wildest speculation would identify that with the ‘Ezra’ of our letter”.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Epp instructively addresses further

⁵⁸ Cf. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 77–78. Additionally see idem, ‘The Apocryphal Acts’, 293–4.

⁵⁹ Cf. Otranto, ‘*Alia tempore, alii libri*. Notizie’, 107–8, in idem, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro*, 128–9. In this context another inventory of liturgical objects might be of interest, namely *PBodl.* I 49 from the 6th or 7th century, edited by Rob Salomons in 1996.

⁶⁰ Cf. Dostálová, ‘Gli inventari dei beni delle chiese’, 12–5. Additionally, see Harbauer, ‘Bücher in Papyri’, 74.

⁶¹ The Latin Bible has two additional chapters at the beginning of 4 *Ezra*, which are then named 5 *Ezra*.

⁶² Cf. the thoughts and discussion by Grenfell/Hunt, *POxy*. VII, p. 13. See further Epp, ‘The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri’, 29.

⁶³ Cf. Epp, ‘The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri’, 21–35. Epp also refers to my study about *POxy*. LXIII 4365.

⁶⁴ Epp, ‘The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri’, 29.

issues of lending books (or in his words “exchanging” books), such as why these two deuterocanonical books were exchanged, and what can be deduced from the fact that a woman or perhaps two women were involved in the lending process, and backs his conclusions by referring to other papyri from Oxyrhynchos. Epp reflects upon a potential connection between Aurelia Soteira alias Hesychium in the petition (POxy. LXIII 4364) and the persons involved in the lending, both of whom he seemingly takes as women.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, even if there is no doubt about some paleographical similarities, the hand of the petition seems to be somewhat earlier than that of the letter. The excellent ‘Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens’ (HGV) of the ‘Institut für Papyrologie’ at the University of Heidelberg has entries for both, the petition and the letter, offering the 3rd to the fourth century for the first and the fourth century for the latter.⁶⁶ High resolution images of both sides of the papyrus fragment are provided on the internet by the imaging papyri project in Oxford, so that a comparison of the two hands is possible even without having the original available.⁶⁷

Interestingly, the identification of ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις with the *Book of Jubilees* postulated by Dieter Hagedorn and supported in my study was incorporated into *BL XI* (p. 173) in 2002, which has an entry for POxy. LXIII 4364, too. Additionally, Eldon Jay Epp picks up Otranto’s suggestion that ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις may refer to a miniature codex and discards it by pointing to A. Hilhorst’s short study and my article.⁶⁸

Previously, in his study of ‘The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*’ (published in 2003) Peter van Minnen also refers to POxy. LXIII 4365 and states: “The only documentary attestation of a Greek reading public for apocalyptic texts in Egypt happens to relate to a woman.”⁶⁹ Cautiously, van Minnen does not tackle the question whether the sender of the letter is male or female, as his topic is not this letter but the Greek manuscripts of

⁶⁵ Cf. Epp, ‘The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri’, 29. On the possibility of having the same hand/scribe on both sides of the papyrus, see Rea, *POxy. LXIII*, pp. 43–44; Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro*, 128.

⁶⁶ See ‘HGV’ (<http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0>; last access 15/04/2006).

⁶⁷ The images can be found at POxy: Oxyrhynchus Online (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>; last access 15/04/2006).

⁶⁸ See Epp, ‘The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri’, 29–30 n. 79, referring to Hilhorst, ‘Erwähnt POxy. LXIII 4365 das Jubiläenbuch?’, 192, and Kraus, ‘Bücherei’, 288 n. 22, against Otranto, *Alia tempore, alii libri*. Notizie’, 107–8, and eadem, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro*, 128–9.

⁶⁹ Van Minnen, ‘The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*’, 19 n. 5.

the Apocalypse of Peter, and he only comes across that letter because, in his account of the discovery of the so-called Akhmîm Codex (*PCair.* 10759) in a tomb, he uses the male and female personal pronoun to indicate that interpretation is still open.⁷⁰

Recently in 2006 Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore published a collection and evaluation of more than 300 private letters in Greek and Egyptian written by women from 300 B.C.E. to 800 C.E. (with 32 illustrations).⁷¹ The letters shed light on some features associated with women and socio-cultural implications in my essay. Additionally, the broad database of papyrus and pottery artefacts offered there helps to study the role of women in certain areas of society more profoundly.

Apart from Rosa Otranto's *Antiche list di libri su papiro* from 2000 with significant observations on some specific book lists, there is a section of a fine article by Christoph Marksches, published in 2001. On the whole Marksches deals with some trends in the research on the canonization of the New Testament but then talks about 'ancient Christian libraries and their inventories'.⁷² Thus, he evaluates the twenty Christian "Bibliotheks-Listen auf Papyrus"⁷³ which are known today. Even if Marksches's perspective is especially directed to the canon and therefore the book lists or inventories are assessed in that respect, the literature, the list of the twenty papyrus inventories, and the conclusions he offers deserve to be taken into account for every further study in that field of research. Of course, Rosa Otranto's works helps to broaden our knowledge about book inventories. Additionally, Herwig Maehler's appealing study about book production and social status in Byzantine Egypt, focusing on the period from the fourth to the seventh/eighth century,⁷⁴ is instructive here, because it offers interesting socio-cultural information that is significant for the matters of canonization mentioned by Marksches but more explicitly for reflections offered in my own study.

⁷⁰ Van Minnen, 'The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*', 19: "It would have been natural to include a codex with his or her favourite apocalyptic texts in the tomb."

⁷¹ Cf. Bagnall/Cribiore, *Women's Letters*. See the reference of Haines-Eitzen, 'The Apocryphal Acts', 294 n. 5. An electronic version of Bagnall's and Cribiore's volume with more illustrations, commentaries, and links is forthcoming.

⁷² Cf. Marksches, 'Neue Forschungen', 237–262, here 243–9 and 262.

⁷³ Marksches, 'Neue Forschungen', 243. See the list of the papyrus inventories on p. 262.

⁷⁴ Cf. Maehler, 'Byzantine Egypt', 118–36.

Even if he often seems to be too credulous to take for granted what some literary sources tell, which he then generalizes in order to refer it to the common people, Lionel Casson's short section on book dealers (βιβλιοπώλης; see above about *POxy.* XVIII 2192 and cf. Liddell/Scott/Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. βιβλιοπώλης) is rewarding, because he provides some of the most important facets not only in an attractive narrative but also in a concise way.⁷⁵

In a private letter from the third century B.C.E. (*PCair.Zen.* 59588)⁷⁶ a certain Demeas asks Zenon (ll. 3–5): καὶ τὰ βιβλία, εἰ ἤδη μεταγέγραψαι, ἀπόστειλον, ὅπως ἂν ἔχωμεν διατριβήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧ λαλήσωμεν ἔχομεν—“And the books, if you have already copied them, send them, so that we may have a pastime, because there is nobody with whom we could talk.” From this letter, probably about the selling of a house and/or mortgage, we learn that books are sent to someone else who wants to pass his time with them after they were copied. Unfortunately, there is no mention of a previous lending process. Nonetheless, it is implied that way that Zenon may send and so lend the books to Demeas so that the latter can read them.⁷⁷

Another interesting example of a book loan is *PCarls.* III 21, a Demotic letter from Tebtunis dated to the second or first century B.C.E., which is kept in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection of the University of Copenhagen.⁷⁸ A certain Miysis has obviously borrowed two books (a medical and a ‘jar’ book) from a certain Phanesis, which he sends back now with this accompanying letter. Probably, he had the books for quite a long time and the books are overdue for return, so that he writes in a strikingly apologetic style: “Miysis, son of Haryothes, greets Phanesis, son of Onnophris, the prophet of Thoth. I never cease to ask anyone whom I can find about your well-being, and they tell me ‘no harm has befallen the prophet of Thoth until today’. I have caused

⁷⁵ Cf. Casson, *Bibliotheken*, 44–5 and 197–8 (with βιβλιοπώλης misspelled as βιβλιοπωλής). Further see the review of the original English edition of Casson's book by J. O'Donnell, *BMCR* 2001.04.25 (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2001/2001-04-25.html>; last access 10/05/2006).

⁷⁶ For information about *PCair.Zen.* 59588 see ‘HGV’ (n. 66). A brief note on this private letter is devoted by Casson, *Bibliotheken*, 81.

⁷⁷ Perhaps, Zenon has previously borrowed them from Demeas in order to make copies of the books. But this remains a mere hypothesis.

⁷⁸ For a description, translation, and a brief discussion see the Internet pages of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, University of Copenhagen (<http://www.hum.ku.dk/cni/papcoll/high021.html>; last access 14/08/2006). The letter was first edited by Erichsen, ‘Zwei demotische Briefe’, 97–104, and re-edited as *PCarls.* III 21.

Horos, son of Marres, my brother, to bring you the medical book and the jar book, a total of two books, which you gave to me before this day. Don't cause a rebuke because of the delay which has happened. I would not have found anyone trustworthy... [the rest of the letter is lost]." The reverse side preserves an address written in the customary style: "To be given to Phanesis, son of Onnophris."⁷⁹ Horos serves as the bearer of the letter, who can obviously be trusted actually to return the books. Nevertheless, even if Miysis seems to explain the delay in returning the books by the lack of a trustworthy bearer before he could convince Horos to take the books with him, this might not be anything except a pretence for the late return of the borrowed books after the arranged or maybe usual period of time for a book loan. Without doubt, it would be of high interest to know more about 'the medical book' and 'the jar book'.⁸⁰

Although the letter *P.Colon.inv.* 1473 from the fifth or sixth century does not mention a process of lending books, it may help to illustrate the professional side of copying manuscripts. The editor Ludwig Koenen puts the letter into a wider context of ancient book production and offers an ample sample of references. The text of the letter itself points out that a certain Father Honorius, a monk, has recently bought parchment and should write back or visit the sender Dionysios to discuss the engagement for copying a book the sender is already in possession of.⁸¹

The recently published catalogue of an exhibition in the *Bibelhaus am Museumsufer* in Frankfurt, Germany, presents color images, brief descriptions, and German translations of the texts of the following items: *P.Vindob.G.* 26015 (papyrus with a booklist), *P.Vindob.KO* 676 (ostracon with a note for the post indicating about a booklist), *P.Vindob.KO* 470 (ostracon with a letter request to send a promised book), and *P.Vindob.KO* 679 (ostracon with booklist).⁸²

⁷⁹ Translations are taken from the Internet pages of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection (see n. 78).

⁸⁰ Although six or seven centuries younger *P.Carlsb.* 500, a Coptic medical codex of twenty preserved pages, can serve as one example to get a better idea of 'the medical book' of *P.Carls.* III 21. Cf. Erichsen, 'Aus einem koptischen Arzneibuch', 23–45 (with plates), and the Internet pages of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, University of Copenhagen (<http://www.hum.ku.dk/cni/papcoll/high500.html>; last access 15/08/2006).

⁸¹ See Koenen, 'Ein Mönch als Berufsschreiber', 347–54.

⁸² Cf. Schefzyk, *Alles ECHT*, nos. 3–6 (87–9).

Bibliography

- Albani, M., et al. (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).
- Bagnall, R.S./Cribiore, R., *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 B.C.–A.D. 800. With contributions by Evie Ahtaridis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).
- Balough, J., 'Voces Paginarum: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens', *Philologus* 82 (1927) 84–109, 202–40.
- Birt, T., *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Literatur* (Aalen: Scientia, 1882).
- Blanck, H., *Das Buch in der Antike* (Munich: Beck, 1992).
- Botha, P.J.J., 'Greco-Roman Literacy as Setting for New Testament Writings', *Neotestamentica* 26 (1992) 195–215.
- Broszio, G., 'Julius Africanus', *LACL*² 363–4.
- Bucking, S., 'Review of Cribiore, *Writing*', *BASP* 36 (1999) 191–203.
- Buschhausen, H./Horak, U./Harrauer, H. (eds.), *Der Lebenskreis der Kopten. Dokumente, Textilien, Funde, Ausgrabungen* (MPER N.S. XXV; Vienna: Hollinek, 1995).
- Camassa, G./Hild, F., 'Buch', *DNP* 2 (1997) 809–16.
- Casson, L., *Bibliotheken in der Antike* (Düsseldorf-Zürich: Patmos Verlag—Artemis & Winkler, 2002; original English edition: *Libraries in the Ancient World* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001]).
- Choat, M., *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Studia Antiqua Australiensia [SAA] 1; Turnhout: Prepols, 2006).
- Cicero, M. Tullius, *Epistulae ad familiares. Libri I–XVI* (ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey; Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana 30; Munich-Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 1987).
- Clark, W.P., 'Ancient Reading', *CJ* 26 (1930/31) 698–70.
- Cotton, H.M., 'Deeds of gift and the law of succession in the Documents from the Judaean Desert', in: *PapCongr XXI*, 179–186.
- , 'The guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of a woman in the documents of the Judaean desert', *ζPE* 118 (1997) 267–273.
- Cribiore, R., *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (ASP 36; Atlanta/Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996).
- Denis, A.M., *Fragmentae pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970).
- , *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).
- Dostálová, R., 'Der "Bücherkatalog" Pap. Wess. Gr. Prag. I 13 im Rahmen der Nachrichten über Bücher aus frühchristlicher Zeit', *Δόρημα στον Ι. Καραγιαννόπουλο = Βυζαντινά* 13 (1985) 539–47.
- , 'Gli inventari dei beni delle chiese dei conventi su papiro', *AnalPap* 6 (1994) 5–19.
- Duensing, H./Santos Otero, A. de, 'Das fünfte und sechste Buch Esra', *NTApO*⁶ 2, 581–590.
- Dziatzko, C., 'Buchhandel', *PRE* 3 (1899) 973–995.
- Epiphanius II, *Panarion* (ed. K. Holl; GCS 31; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922 [²1980]).
- Epp, E.J., 'The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri: "Not Without Honor Except in Their Hometown"?'', *JBL* 123 (2004) 5–55.
- Erichsen, W., 'Aus einem Koptischen Arzneibuch', *AcOr* 27 (1963) 23–45.
- , 'Zwei demotische Briefe', in: *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario* (Hauniae: Einar. Munksgaard, 1953) 97–104.
- Esther, Septuaginta*, (ed. R. Hanhart; Gottingensis 8.3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).
- Fiensy, D.A., 'Revelation of Ezra', *OTP I*, 601–603.
- Flint, P.W. 'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha'

- in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in: Flint/Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, 24–65.
- , 'Appendix II: Index of Passages from the Apocrypha and Previously-Known Writings ("Pseudepigrapha") in the Scrolls', in: Flint/Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, 665–668.
- , Vanderkam, J.C. (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment*. Vol. 2 (Leiden-Boston-Cologne: Brill, 1999).
- Franklin, S., 'A Note on a Pseudepigraphical Allusion in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 4365', *VT* 48 (1998) 95–96.
- Gamble, H.Y., *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts*, (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- García Martínez, F., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden-New York-Cologne-Grand Rapids: Brill-Eerdmans, ²1994).
- Gavrilov, A.K., 'Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity', *CQ* 47 (1997) 56–73.
- Gonis, N., 'Notes on two epistolary conventions', *ΣPE* 119 (1997) 148–52.
- Hagedorn, D., 'Die „Kleine Genesis“ in P.Oxy. LXIII 4365', *ΣPE* 116 (1997) 147.
- Haines-Eitzen, K., *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Harrauer, H., 'Bücher in Papyri', in: H.W. Lang (ed.), *Flores litterarum. Ioanni Marte sexagenario oblata. Wissenschaft in der Bibliothek* (Biblos. Schriften 163; Vienna: Böhlau, 1995) 59–77.
- , Sijpesteijn, P.J. (eds.), *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht. Textband*, (MPER N.S. XV; Vienna: Hollinek, 1985).
- Harris, W.V., *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge/Mass.-London: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Harvey, F.D., 'Literacy in the Athenian Democracy', *REG* 79 (1966) 585–635.
- Hendrickson, G.L., 'Ancient Reading', *CJ* 25 (1929) 182–96.
- Hengstl, J. (ed.), *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten als Zeugnisse des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens. Griechisch-deutsch* (Munich: Heimeran, 1978).
- Hilhorst, A., 'Erwähnt P.Oxy. LXIII 4365 das Jubiläenbuch?', *ΣPE* 130 (2000) 192.
- Hurtado, L.W., 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra: A Proposal', *JBL* 117 (1998) 655–73.
- Jérôme, *Apologie contre Rufin* (ed. P. Lardet; SC 303; Paris: Cerf, 1983).
- Johnson, W.A., 'Review of Cribiore, *Writing*', *CP* 93 (1998) 276–9.
- Judge, E.A., *Rank and Status in the World of the Caesars and St. Paul. The Broadhead Memorial Lecture 1981* (Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1982).
- , Pickering, S.R., 'Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the mid-fourth Century', *JbAC* 20 (1977) 47–71.
- Kleberg, T., *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ³1969).
- Knox, B.M.W., 'Silent Reading in Antiquity', *GRBS* 9 (1968) 421–35.
- Koenen, L., 'Ein Mönch als Berufsschreiber zur Buchproduktion im 5./6. Jahrhundert', in: *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung 8; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974) 347–54.
- Kraus, T.J., 'Ad fontes: Gewinn durch die Konsultation von Originalhandschriften am Beispiel von *PVindob.G* 31974', *Bib.* 81 (2001) 1–16.
- , '(I)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects of the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times', *Mn.* 53 (2000) 322–41.
- , "'Slow writers"—βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?', *Ex* 97 (1999) 86–97.
- , "Uneducated", 'ignorant', or even 'illiterate'? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4.13', *NTS* 45 (1999) 434–49.

- Löhr, W.A., 'Epiphanius von Salamis', *LACL*² 196–8.
- Maehler, H., 'Byzantine Egypt: urban élites and book production', *Dialogos* 4 (1997) 118–36.
- , 'Menander Rhetor and Alexander Claudius in a Papyrus Letter', *GRBS* 15 (1974) 305–11.
- Manteuffel, G., 'De novo quodam librorum librorum inventario', *Aeg* 13 (1933) 367–73.
- Markschies, C., 'Neue Forschungen zur Kanonisierung des Neuen Testaments', *Apocrypha* 12 (2001) 237–62.
- Metzger, B.M., 'The Fourth Book of Ezra', *OTP* I 516–559.
- Milik, J.T., 'Recherches sur la version grecque du Livre des Jubilés', *RB* 78 (1971) 545–57.
- Mueller, J.R./Robbins, G.A., 'Vision of Ezra', *OTP* I, 582–590.
- Müller, P., „*Verstehst du auch, was du liest?*“ *Lesen und Verstehen im Neuen Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Naldini, M., *Il cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II–IV* (STP 3; Firenze: Le Monnier, 1968).
- , *Il cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II–IV* (Bibliotheca Patristica 32; nuova ed., ampliata e aggiornata; Fiesole: Nardin, i²1998).
- Norman, A.F., 'The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch', *JHS* 80 (1960) 122–26.
- O'Donnell, J., 'Rev. of Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*', *BMCR* 2001.04.25 (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2001/2001-04-25.html>; last access 10/05/2006).
- Otranto, R., 'Alia tempore, alii libri. Notizie ed elenchi di libri cristiani su papiro', *Aeg* 77 (1997) 101–24.
- , *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (Sussidi eruditi 49; Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2000).
- Pöhlmann, E., *Einführung in die Überlieferungsgeschichte und in die Textkritik der antiken Literatur. Bd. 1: Altertum* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Röwekamp, G., 'Esra-Literatur', *LACL*², 202.
- Rupprecht, H.-A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyrskunde*, Die Altertumswissenschaft (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Sæbø, M., 'Esra/Estraschriften', *TRE* 10 (1982) 374–86.
- Sawyer, D.F., *Women and Religion in the first Christian Centuries* (Religion in the First Christian Centuries; New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Schefzyk, J. (ed.), *Alles ECHT. Älteste Belege zur Bibel aus Ägypten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006).
- Schelbert, G., 'Jubiläenbuch', *TRE* 17 (1988) 285–6.
- Schubart, W., *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1921).
- Schürer, E., *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*. Vol. 3.1 (A New English Version revised and edited by G. Vermes/F. Millar/M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986).
- Schwartz, K.-H., 'Apokalyptik/Apokalypsen: V. Alte Kirche', *TRE* 3 (1978) 257–75.
- Sickenberger, J., '(47) Iulius (Africanus)', *PRE* 10 (1919) 116–25.
- Snyder, H.G., *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World. Philosophers, Jews and Christians, Religion in the First Christian Centuries* (London-New York: Routledge, 2000).
- Starr, R.J., 'The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World', *CQ* 37 (1987) 213–223.
- , 'The Used-Book Trade in the Roman World', *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 148–57.
- Stone, M.E., 'Greek Apocalypse of Ezra', *OTP* I, 561–79.
- , 'Questions of Ezra', *OTP* I, 591–99.
- Testuz, M., *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Genève-Paris: E. Droz-Librairie Minard, 1960).

- Thomas, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Tibiletti, G., *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del II e IV secolo d.C. Tra paganesimo e cristianesimo* (Scienze filologiche e letteratura 15; Milan: Tita e pensiero, 1979).
- Till, W.C., Die koptischen Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (DÖAW.PH 78.1; Wien; Verlag der ÖAW, 1960).
- Tov, E., 'Appendix III: A List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert', in: Flint/Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, 669–717.
- Turner, E.G., 'Roman Oxyrhynchus', *JEA* 38 (1952) 78–93.
- , *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Rev. and enlarged by P.J. Parsons; BICS.S 46; London: Clarendon Press, 1987).
- , *Greek Papyri—An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980 [repr. 1998]).
- van Groningen, B.A., 'Ἑκδοσις', *Mn.* 16 (1963) 1–17.
- van Haelst, J., *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).
- van Minnen, P., 'The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*', in: J.N. Bremmer/I. Czachesz (eds.), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2003) 15–39.
- Vanderkam, J.C., *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Harvard Semitic monographs 14 (Missoula/Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977).
- , *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 510, Scriptorum Aethiopicorum 88; Leuven: Peeters, 1988).
- Vermes, G., *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: The Penguin Press, 1997).
- Vössing, K., 'Schreiben lernen, ohne lesen zu können? Zur Methode des antiken Elementarunterrichts', *ZPE* 123 (1998) 121–5.
- Wiggers, H.B., 'Buchhandel', *KP* 1 (1979) 960–1.
- Wintermute, O.S., 'Jubilees', *OTP* II, 35–142.
- Wipszycka, E., 'Remarques sur les lettres privées chrétiennes des II^e–IV^e siècles (à propos d'un livre de M. Naldini)', *JJP* 18 (1974) 203–21.
- Youtie, H.C., *Scriptunculae* II (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).
- , *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).

CHAPTER TWELVE

AN OBLIGATION FROM CONTRACT LAW IN PHILEMON 19* CHARACTERISTIC STYLE AND JURIDICAL BACKGROUND

1. *The Problem*

Since the works of Gustav Adolf Deissmann¹ and Albert Thumb² and the still ongoing discussion³ about the location of biblical texts in their contemporary language environment, that is the predominant form of the Greek Κοινή,⁴ nobody can help considering the contemporary language material in this or another form for the assessment of a passage in the New Testament. Above all the mass of papyri that have been dug out of the sands of Egypt and published for more than one hundred years now play a significant role in this context. They—and here, according to its academic discipline, the term ‘papyrus’ includes parchment, ostraca, or writing tablets, at least those with text written on them—allow invaluable insights into the affairs of everyday life in Greco-Roman Egypt, which then lead to further conclusions regarding

* Originally published as ‘Eine vertragsrechtliche Verpflichtung in Phlm 19. Duktus und juristischer Hintergrund’, in: Frühwald-König, J./Prostmeier, F.R./Zwick, R. (eds.), *Steht nicht geschrieben? Studien zur Bibel und ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte* (Festschrift für Georg Schmuttermayr; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet 2001) 187–200. Used with kind permission

¹ See especially Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*; idem, *Neue Bibelstudien*; idem, *Licht vom Osten*. About Deissmann cf. Plümacher, ‘Art. Deissmann’, 406–8.

² Among others, see Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*; idem, ‘Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung’, 85–99.

³ The following are in emulation of Deissmann’s and Thumb’s approaches: Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*; Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*; Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*; Horsley, ‘The Fiction of Jewish Greek’, 37–40, and in principle the series ‘New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity’ (NDIEC); Debrunner, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* II. The following are in opposition to Deissmann: Blass, ‘Review of Deissmann’, 486–8; idem, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 2; Munck, ‘Folkesprog og Bibelsprog’, 65–84. The following works are still influential supporting the Deissmann-critical objective: Turner, ‘The Unique Character of Biblical Greek’, 208–13; idem, *Grammatical Insights*, 183; idem, ‘Jewish and Christian influence’, 149–60; Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* IV (By N. Turner), esp. 1–3.

⁴ For an overview of the history of the linguistic examination of the texts of the LXX and the New Testament see Vergote, ‘Grec biblique’, 1320–69; Ros, *De studie van het Bijbelgrieksch*; Voelz, ‘The Language’, 894–977.

other geographical areas. Especially the documentary papyri offer specific detailed information on the individual juridical and socio-cultural conditions of their time and, due to their everyday-life character, simultaneously preserve the then common form of Greek, which is the *Koinḗ* of the New Testament, with its various facets. Documents⁵ are composed less to fit rhetorical and stylistic criteria or for a special verbal effect; their generally common language was adjusted to the formal and juridical requirements depending on their contents.

This language material—and this does not refer exclusively to the evidence of the documentary papyri, but to every textual artifact we possess today and to everything that may serve as a socio-cultural background and help to improve our knowledge⁶—allows us to draw conclusions for the benefit of the exegesis of the New Testament. This is something I have already tried to show in detail either as a clue or a background for text-critical decisions⁷ or for the illumination of the semantics of lexemes and, thus, the contextual embedding into a context.⁸ Accordingly, one or two results are to be expected from the systematic work on documentary papyri for commenting on the epistolary literature of the New Testament.⁹ Peter Arzt-Grabner at least shows the beginnings of the benefit of such an effort for the Letter to Philemon by compiling “ausgewählte Papyrustexte, die einige Rahmenbedingungen einer Sklavenflucht, wie sie auch als Hintergrund für Phlm anzunehmen ist, ein wenig beleuchten”¹⁰ (‘selected papyrus

⁵ For a general introduction to the field of documents and individual types of documents, see Rupprecht, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 135–43, especially 138–9; Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, 42–3; Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 127–53.

⁶ In that respect even the edition of Johann Jakob Wettstein (*H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*) has to be considered, now together with the revised version Strecker/Schnelle, *Neuer Wettstein II*. For information on this new edition see Strecker, ‘Das Göttinger Projekt’, 245–52. See further Berger/Colpe, *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch*.

⁷ Cf. Kraus, ‘Παρά κυρίου, παρά κυρίῳ oder *omi*’, 265–73. The recently published volume of the *Editio critica maior* IV.2.1.2 now has παρά κυρίῳ for 2 Peter in its main text in contrast to Nestle/Aland²⁷ with παρά κυρίου, a preference I substantiated as the more probable alternative reading. The reasons for this alteration are not given, which corresponds to the policy and layout of the *Editio critica maior*.

⁸ Cf. Kraus, ‘Uneducated’, 434–49.

⁹ Cf. the research project at the “Institut für Neutestamentliche Bibelwissenschaft der Universität Salzburg” (‘Institute for New Testament Bible Research of the University of Salzburg’). See Arzt/Ernst, ‘Neues Testament und Papyrologie’, 11–18; Arzt, ‘Analyse der Paulusbriefe’ (1994), 99–114, and shorter idem, ‘Analyse der Paulusbriefe’ (1995), 31–6; idem, ‘Ägyptische Papyri’, 21–9.

¹⁰ Arzt, ‘Brauchbare Sklaven’, 44. Some of these texts can be found in *C. Pap. Hengstl*, which itself—as indicated by its volume title ‘Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten als Zeug-

texts that illuminate a little some basic conditions of the flight of a slave, which is to be accepted as the background for Phlm⁹) and by commenting on them.

In the following I will show the relevance of the utilization of the language material preserved by documentary papyri and literary evidence from early Christian times by means of Phlm 19, that is by a single verse, and, of course, by considering its immediate context, Phlm 17–20. The semantic determination of individual lexemes and their function already points to a possible juridical background that has found linguistic expression in exactly the form we have there. However, some inaccuracies that have intruded into the discussion of Phlm 19 and survive till today must be dispelled with the help of the papyrological data available and by means of clarifications and corrections. The goal of this study is actually to prove that there is a clearly juridical diction present in Phlm 19, which originates from legal everyday life and which is deliberately used in exactly this form by its author.

2. Clarifications and Explanations of the Juridical Background of Phlm 19

ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί,
ἐγὼ ᾠ̣ποτίσω · ἵνα μὴ λέγω σοι ὅτι καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι προσοφείλεις^τ.
ᾠ̣ποδώσω D* (lat) | ^τ ἐν κυρίῳ D*

As far as textual criticism is concerned Phlm 19 does not cause any problem. *Codex Claromontanus*, a Greek-Latin bilingual manuscript, has ᾠ̣ποδώσω (from ᾠ̣ποδίδωμι), which in contrast to ᾠ̣ποτίσω is less well attested and is common in the canonical texts of the New Testament.¹¹ Further, *Codex Claromontanus* seems to reinterpret the verb προσοφείλω by the additional prepositional phrase ἐν κυρίῳ, i.e. to get rid of a direct and real relationship of debenture between Philemon and the author and to establish theologically a future one between Philemon and the ‘Lord’.

In terms of a relationship of debenture, it is conspicuous that the juridical diction in Phlm 19 has been well noticed and has been linked

nisse des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens’—offers a fine introduction to everyday life in those days by means of selected documents. Of further benefit for work on slavery are Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*, and Eck/Heinrichs, *Skaven und Freigelassene*, who specifically deal with runaway slaves and asylum in nos. 179–87.

¹¹ Cf. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 282 n. 2, who already briefly commented on the difference of these two verbs.

with ἀποτίνω, προσοφείλω and ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί:¹² nonetheless, an exact explanation of the linguistic structure of Phlm 19 against this legal background is not often¹³ carried out (see below). Moreover, commentators often simply focus on the exceptional esteem the author has for his addressees, who writes his letter in his own hand or just signs it personally. The possibility that the author might have had the intention to confirm the written words by adding a signature¹⁴ must at least be considered and checked with the help of the context, even if such a possibility is going to be ruled out by the clearly discernible juridical background in the following passages of this study.

For the most part, however, the above cited formula ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί is rashly and inappropriately compared with the formula indicating illiteracy in the documentary papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt.¹⁵ First of all, it is obvious that a letter belongs to another genre than a document, not least because of the formally prescribed elements for the latter. The mention of the debtor's name, i.e. in this case Paul, does not serve to point explicitly to the fact that up to this point the letter must have been written by a secretary.¹⁶ That may be true in some respects. However, Phlm 19 is not a clue for the activity of a secretary. It has not been pointed out that the formulae indicating illiteracy¹⁷ only mention

¹² This can be found, to an individual extent, in Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, 189; Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an Philemon*, 50; Gnllka, *Der Philemonbrief*, 85–6; Schenk, 'Der Brief des Paulus an Philemon', 3439–95, here 3475; Binder, *Der Brief des Paulus an Philemon*, 61–4; Schnider/Stenger, *Studien zum neutestamentlichen Briefformular*, 136–7. The following regard the recognized juridical dimension as being immediately qualified by Phlm 19b as a figurative way of expressing the mutual relationship between Philemon and the author: Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon*, 107; Lohse, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, 284–5. Ernst, *Die Briefe*, 136, tends to interpret the passage this way, too.

¹³ With the exception of, for instance, O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 286, 299–301.

¹⁴ In this direction of interpretation Gross, 'Art. Signum', 184–6, here 184; Schmidt, 'Art. Brief', 771–3, here 773. Further, see on the possibility of enforcing the idea of *parousia*, i.e. the transference of personal presence by means of a signature in one's own hand, Koskeniemi, *Studien zur Ideologie und Phraseologie*, 173–4; Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefoptik*, 79, 95–106; Stirewalt, Jr., *Studies of Ancient Greek Epistolography*, 4–5.

¹⁵ This seems to have its origin in Bahr, 'The Subscriptions', 27–41, here 28. Correspondingly, this idea is found in White, 'New Testament Epistolary Literature', 1730–56, here 1740; Schnider/Stenger, *Studien*, 143–5.

¹⁶ But favored by Bahr, 'The Subscriptions', 28–30, 35–6; White, 'New Testament Epistolary Literature', 1740; Schnider/Stenger, *Studien*, 142–3.

¹⁷ On this topic and generally on the issue of illiteracy in Greco-Roman Egypt Kraus, '(Il)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri', 322–42. Further, idem, 'Uneducated', 433–4, 438–44.

the debtor's name, because, due to his/her inability to read and write,¹⁸ somebody else had to proofread and sign the document for the debtor. In principle, there are three categories of these formulae with many variants: (a) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα/γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης, (b) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου (ὄντος) und (c) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βραδέως γράφοντος/βραδέα γράφοντος.¹⁹ Therefore, the writing agent (ὑπογραφεύς), i.e. someone who writes under another person's orders, always mentions the person for whom (ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ) he writes the legally binding signature and a few characterizing words at the end of a document.²⁰ Of course the ὑπογραφεύς had to be a person in which to confide, mostly a close relative or a professional scribe, who had to be concerned about his reputation. In order to guarantee reliability even such a ὑπογραφεύς was obliged to identify himself and to write down his name and a particular characteristic feature.²¹ An example randomly chosen from the bulk of the many available can help to illustrate this procedure:

A document from Arsinoe (*Stud.Pal.* XX 1), dated to 83/84 C.E., presents six different hands. One scribe wrote the body of the contract on the papyrus (down to line 32), until some other people signed and the sixth scribe composed the final clause under the document. For our purposes the text written by the second (and third) hand in ll. 33–34 is of major interest:²²

Πτολεμαῖος ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικός μου βραδέα
[γ]ραφούσης (3rd hand) Πτο[λεμαῖος Πτολε]μαῖα

Thus, a certain Ptolemaios writes on behalf of his wife the obligatory formula under the document and, as usual, names the reason for his

¹⁸ In addition to the relevant studies of Herbert Chaim Youtie, reprinted in *Scriptunculae* II and *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, see especially Harrauer/Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*; Thomas, *Literacy and Orality*; Criboire, *Writing, Teachers and Students*.

¹⁹ For where-used lists of the relevant papyrus documents corresponding to the formulae see Kraus, '(Il)literacy', 325–6; idem, "Uneducated", 434–5 n. 2 (only for category [a]); idem, "Slow writers", 86–97, here 89 n. 12 (only for category [c]).

²⁰ Cf. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht* I, 292–314; Grundz.Mitt., pp. 55–6.

²¹ See Kraus, '(Il)literacy', 326–28. Further see, idem, "Uneducated", 434–5; von Woess, *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen*, 299–302.

²² As generally accepted and being the usual practice of transcribing of majuscules (as given in their original appearance) *sigma* σ and *stigma* Ϸ are transcribed as c. Carl Wessely's transcription (with *sigma* and *stigma*) is only altered in this respect to guarantee a uniform appearance of the transcriptions throughout this study.

writing and not his wife. The addition of the female name clearly shows that signing with one's name alone was not enough. Moreover, l. 37 indicates that the ἔγραψα-formula itself (including the name) was legally decisive, where the sixth hand writes: ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀκουτίων Ἀκουσιλαίου μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γράμμ'α'(τα). The person identifying himself as Μάρων Μάρωνος in l. 36 signs the document for another person, whose name is not mentioned and who does not write anything in his or her own handwriting.

The function of a ὑπογραφεύς is thus clearly outlined: As the representative of the original party to a contract he counterchecks the content of the document and signs it, because the person for whom he is acting is either incapable of reading and writing at all or this person is a 'slow writer' as presented in category (c) above and, therefore, is unsure and has severely limited skills of reading and writing.²³ Accordingly, it does not follow for Phlm 19 that a secretary must have written the letter, because the formulaic phrase mentioning a name with ὑπὲρ is missing and the author identifies himself as party to the contract, i.e. as debtor, by explicit and solemn emphasis on his person (ἐγὼ Παῦλος). Besides, he is the logical subject of ἔγραψα, which solely functions within the formula.²⁴ By using a common formulaic phrase that readers and listeners would have been familiar with (legal) validity is expressed. But that it is not necessary to make compulsory usage of the formulae indicating illiteracy to infer the juridical background of Phlm 19, is clearly proved by *POxy.* XXXVIII 2836, the copy of a receipt of rent for land. Gaius Cutius himself signs the document, which was written by another hand on 10 July (l. 16 Ἐπεὶφ ιζ')²⁵ 50 C.E., on the following day (l. 22 Ἐπεὶφ ιζ') in his own handwriting (ll. 17–22):

Γαῖος Κούτιος Μάρκου υἱὸς ἔχω
τῆς προκειμένης τὴν αὐθεντικὴν
παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐπύσω ἐὰν χρέα γένη-
ται. (ἔτους) δεκάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου

²³ About the topic of those people being denoted as βραδέως γράφοντες—'slow writers'—in papyrus documents, see Kraus, "Slow writers", 86–97. Fundamental is the study of Youtie, 'Βραδέως γράφων', 239–61 (= idem, *Scriptunculae* II, 629–76).

²⁴ As a component of the formulaic phrase ἔγραψα is not an "epistolary aorist", as it is usually found in the epistolary literature of the New Testament. Against O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 300; Arzt, 'Brauchbare Sklaven', 57. Different, however, (from ἔγραψα in Phlm 19) is ἔγραψα in Phlm 21.

²⁵ On the Egyptian names of the months and the Egyptian calendar see Rupprecht, *Papyruskunde*, 26–31; Pestman, *New Papyrological Primer*, 35–8 and 317.

Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπεὶφ ιζ

Translation:

“I Gaius Cutius son of Marcus have the valid copy of the aforesaid in my possession and will produce it if required. Tenth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor, Epeiph 17th.”²⁶

The solemn and binding declaration is made in the first person, and the decisive part as regards content is briefly repeated and linked with the signatory himself, whose willingness to produce the copy becomes binding, i.e. it can be demanded. Similar is the case of *P.Colon.inv.* 6211 (= *P.Turner* 22), a bill of sale from 142 B.C. for a female slave.²⁷

Significant and supporting this evidence for ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί, which in Phlm 19 is restricted in its use as far as function and formulaic character are concerned, is a self-contained account of the facts of a case of contract law. Thus, the verse does not explicitly deal with a reference to having written something on one's own and with any intended expression of authority and authenticity²⁸ (cf. Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:17 as potential literary means of pseudepigraphy),²⁹ at the end of the letter (cf. 1 Cor 16:21 indicated by ἀσπασμός; possibly Gal 6:11, whereas πηλίκος refers to the effort Paul has to make for his addressees and, thus, emphasizes Paul's work),³⁰ but it is proof of one's own legal obligation

²⁶ Translation by M. Crawford, in: *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII, p. 41.

²⁷ Ll. 9–10 (2nd hand): [Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀρι στοκλέους πέ]πρακα τὸ κορά καιον δ. η[ναρί]ων διακο καίων ὀγδο[ήκοντα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν κ]εκόμαιμαι ὡς προγέγρ[ά]πται.

²⁸ With this I modify the imprecise clue in my study “Slow writers”, 89–90 n. 14, where I did not explicitly point out the particularity of Phlm 19 in contrast to the other mentions of writing in one's own hand in the New Testament. Nevertheless, the main focus of that study was put on the phenomena of the βραδέως γράφοντες and the usage of this terminus to denote people in documents and/or as a means to describe the hands of scribes palaeographically.

²⁹ Cf. Schnider/Stenger, *Studien*, 158; Probst, *Paulus und der Brief*, 352.

³⁰ See Schnider/Stenger, *Studien*, 145–58; Probst, *Paulus und der Brief*, 352; Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an Philemon*, 50. White, ‘Epistolary Literature’, 1740, regards 1 Cor 16:21 and Gal 6:11 as part of the “letter-closing conventions”.

to do something.³¹ Diverse papyrus documents³² put explicit emphasis on signing in one's own hand, because the signature—which does not simply refer to the name alone as common today—indicates the legal validity of a contract or a document.³³ It has already been shown above in detail that this was possible for illiterates or those unsure in reading and writing with the help of a writing agent. Thus, the juridical style of Phlm 19 has to be considered as being deliberately chosen by the author, for whom this usage of common legal terminology suggested itself for this context.³⁴

3. (Further) Evidence for a Juridical Diction: ἀποτίνω and προσοφείλω

As delineated above several times the choice of words in Phlm 19 stems from a juridical background. What is indicated by ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρῇ, whose origin and implications have already been discussed, is still supported by the use of ἀποτίνω and προσοφείλω. Both are terms from contract law, a fact that has often been recognized.³⁵ The compound ἀποτίνω (the *simplex* is only used in 2 Thess 1:9), in the sense of 'to amortize' or 'to pay off a (financial) debt', denotes an everyday event in business life at that time and is widely used as a juridical *terminus*

³¹ Against White, 'Epistolary Literature', 1741, who regards Phlm 19–20 as anticipated end of the letter. Cf. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht* I, 304–5. Accurate here Schnider/Stenger, *Studien*, 136–7: "Er [Paul] unterstreicht die Eigenhändigkeit seiner Namensunterschrift mithin in einem juristisch erfassbaren, geschäftlichen Kontext, setzt also mit seiner Unterschrift einen Sachverhalt juristisch in Geltung. Er unterschreibt einen einklagbaren Schuldschein. Seine Unterschrift und der Eigenhändigkeitsvermerk haben hier also eine, über die einer bloßen Authentizitätserklärung hinausgehende, juristische Funktion."

³² Cf. the references provided by Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. χεῖρ; Youtie, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ', 201–21, here 210 n. 23 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 179–99, here 188 n. 23. A search performed with the help of the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri* (DDBDP) of the Perseus Project [<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html>; last access 19/08/2006] results in many hints for χεῖρ ἐμῇ and variants, of which only a few from the 2nd to the 4th century are sufficient here: *BGU* III 709r22; 865.2; *CPR* I 30 fragment 2.40 (= *Grundz.Mitt.* 335); *C.Mil.Rec.* 78.25rp.4; 78.60rp.1; 78.67rp.4 (all three reprinted in *O.Bodl.* II); *PVind.Worp* 22.13.

³³ Cf. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht* I, 304–5; *Grundz.Mitt.*, pp. 55–6; Youtie, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ', 210 (= idem, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* I, 188).

³⁴ See the letter about an urgently needed slave, *BGU* I 37 (12th September 50 C.E.), which is compared with Phlm in detail by Peterson, *Rediscovering Paul*, 43–88; Arzt, 'Brauchbare Sklaven', 56–8.

³⁵ Cf. n. 12.

technicus.³⁶ With Phlm 19 we have the only use of this compound within the canonical texts of the New Testament, although the texts of the Septuagint have it thirty times.³⁷ Diverse documentary papyri prove how common and conventional ἀποτίνω was in legal matters in those days, at least as far as Greco-Roman Egypt is concerned.³⁸

The case of προσοφείλω is almost analogous, though this compound is not used elsewhere in the canonical texts of the New Testament and never used in the Septuagint, so that it can be called a *hapax legomenon* of the Greek Bible.³⁹ It denotes ‘to owe (something as a countermove to something)’, ‘to owe somebody (something besides)’. But it can often not be distinguished from the *simplex* ὀφείλω. The generally stronger legal meaning of the compound, however, seems to be chosen deliberately for Phlm 19, because it fits the juridical style of Phlm 19 very well, and because the simple ὀφείλω in Phlm 18 (there together with ἁδικέω) receives a corresponding juridical resumption in the compound. Elsewhere προσοφείλω was used commonly and conventionally as a legal term, which is true for the documentary papyri, too.⁴⁰

These two verbs in Phlm 19 have to be seen together with the commercial term ἐλλογῶ denoting ‘to credit (something) against’, ‘to charge

³⁶ The following reference works have been consulted for information on the lexemes discussed above: Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*; Page 2; Preisigke/Kiessling, *Wörterbuch*; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*⁶; LSJ⁹.

³⁷ Exod 21:19, 34, 36, 37; 22:3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16; Lev 5:16, 24; 24:18; Ruth 2:12; 2 Kgdms 15:7; 17:6; 4 Kgdms 4:7; Pss 36:21; Prov 6:31; 22:27; Job 34:33; Sir 8:13; Isa 9:4; Ezek 33:15. It is mainly used where the Masoretic text (according to BHS) has (a pi’el of) מָשַׁל.

³⁸ Cf. *PTebt.* III/1 821.15 (209? B.C.E.); *PDavid* 4.13 (167/114); *PGrenf.* II 17.5 (136); *PAdl.* 4.14 (109); *PLeid.Inst.* 26.11 (I C.E.); *PDiog.* 25.23 (132 C.E.); *POxy.* XLVIII 3386.24 (338). The double compound προσαποτίνω seems to have prevailed then hereafter either in the same meaning as the *simplex* or denoting ‘to pay besides’. Just a few examples for its use are sufficient for our context: *PAmh.* II 95.1.11 (109 C.E.); *PCair.Goodsp.* 13.13 (341); *CPR VII* 14.16 (305); *CPR XVIIA* 17.10 (321?). Search performed with the help of the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri* (DDBDP) of the Perseus Project [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html; last access 19/08/2006]. Further, see the references in Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v. ἀποτίνω; Preisigke/Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden I* and IV, s.v. ἀποτίνω.

³⁹ On the term *hapax legomenon* see Kraus, “Uneducated”, 438 (with literature).

⁴⁰ Cf. *PRav.* 2.19.1 (259 B.C.E. = Grundz. Wilck. 258); *PLond.* VII 1940.3.73 (257); *PCair.Zen.* III 59317.12 (250); 59516.22 (= *PSI IV*); IV 59626.3; 59691.26 (all three III); *PEnteux* 48.6 (218); *PFouad* 37.9 (48 C.E.); *PBerl.Möller* 2.14 (69–79; repr. in *POxy.* IX). Search performed with the help of the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri* (DDBDP) of the Perseus Project [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html; last access 19/08/2006]. Further see the references in Moulton/Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v. προσοφείλω; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch I*, s.v. προσοφείλω.

to one's account' in Phlm 18 (actually correct as ἐλλογέω), which on the one hand is also not used in the Septuagint and only present in the New Testament in Rom 5:13 (however, in a different sense), but on the other hand was widely used in inscriptions and documentary papyri.⁴¹ The two verbs ἀδικέω and ὀφείλω receive a certain specification by this use and the juridical style in Phlm 19: what can be understood in a figurative sense in Phlm 18, which is the crediting of an injustice to Philemon or a debt that has not been paid back, is then clearly determined by means of Phlm 19 in a binding sense and with an *in personam* effect; for the author expresses a legally binding self-obligation in a solemn and formulaic way by phrasing and words that were both common at that time. This language area is left again with Phlm 20, even if ὀνίνημι ('to profit'; 'to delight'; 'to have profit/an advantage/delight') is another rare word in the Greek Bible, which is only used in Tob 3:8 and Sir 30:2 in the Septuagint, and thus can be denoted as a *hapax legomenon* of the canonical writings of the New Testament. Technically, the emphatic address ναὶ ἀδελφέ alone manifests that a change of style takes place here.

4. Some Remarks about Onesimus' State as a Slave

The question of how and why the slave Onesimus has come to Paul is still not answered. Paul is in prison (Phlm 1, 9, 13), where he meets Onesimus nonetheless.⁴² That the slave⁴³ stole from his master Philemon cannot definitely be deduced from Phlm 18, for the statements made there are not unambiguous enough to certify that strain of interpretation.⁴⁴ Whether Onesimus went to Paul for mediation as the consequence of an argument in Philemon's house⁴⁵ remains dubious, because

⁴¹ For this the references in Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*⁶, s.v. ἐλλογέω (esp., *PRyl.* II 243; *BGU* I 140.31–32; *P.Stras.* I 32.10) are sufficient, because Phlm 18 is not the central subject matter of this study.

⁴² For a fine orientation consult Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 174–5. Also instructive but based on a different methodology Porter, 'Is Critical Discourse Analysis Critical?', 47–70, esp. 56–63.

⁴³ For relevant literature on slavery see Rupprecht, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde*, 103–4; Llewellyn, 'P. Harris I 62', 245–50.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon*, 106; Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an Philemon*, 22.

⁴⁵ This is claimed by Lampe, 'Keine "Sklavenflucht" des Onesimus', 135–7. This view is opposed by Raspe, 'The Prisoner Paul in the Eyes of Onesimus', 187–203,

the slave stayed for quite some time with Paul (Phlm 13). Could a slave move that freely and stay away for so long? The idea that Onesimus as a *fugitivus* who ran away from his master Philemon for whatever reasons, however, is not really satisfying. Why does the runaway then meet Paul in a prison cell, i.e. in a place not safe for himself? The lowest common denominator is to state that Onesimus went away from his master's house, that there is a relationship of debenture between him and his master, and that Paul, no matter how and why, is called in as an advocate.

A *fugitivus*, and as such every slave could be classified who ran away from their master, was in permanent danger. Possible consequences were maltreatment as a form of punishment and being labeled with a necklace or the branding with stigmata (on the forehead or into the face).⁴⁶ In general, the master having the status of a *pater familias* could make use of his right to decide on life or death.⁴⁷ This was self-evident, as a slave belonged to the law of property in the end; but that does not mean that a slave could not be regarded and accepted as a human being for whom natural rights are valid (Ulpian, *Dig.* 50.17–32). As a consequence of this, slaves were treated by analogy with things that could bring in a return, and classified according to their usefulness and the law of property (cf., for instance, *POxy.* III 496.4–8 [with BL VI 97], a marriage contract, in which the usufruct of two slaves and their children, even before their birth, was laid down).⁴⁸

Against this background of the slave Onesimus' qualification as "Gegenstand des Rechtsverkehrs",⁴⁹ 'object of legal dealings', and thus of the law of property, the factual, sober, and juridical style of Phlm 19 obtains an additional dimension: the style fits what is finally up for

here 187–8. Winter, 'Paul's Letter to Philemon', 1–15, here 3, regards Onesimus as a slave who was sent to Paul in prison by the community of Colossae.

⁴⁶ Cf. the metal rings to identify runaway slaves *CIL* XV 7172; 7174; 7175. Text printed in Eck/Heinrichs, *Sklaven und Freigelassene*, no. 186.

⁴⁷ Gaius, *Inst.* 1.52–53; 4.77; *L'Année Épigraphique* 1971, 88 II 8–10. All three references are also given by Eck/Heinrichs, *Sklaven und Freigelassene*, nos. 3, 28, and 214.

⁴⁸ For further references see Eck/Heinrich, *Sklaven und Freigelassene*, for instance, nos. 15, 41–42, 46, 181, and 184. The right to claim under warranty was given for the case of a *fugitivus* who could not be identified as such by a purchaser (nos. 40–44). Nevertheless, children and children of slaves were not categorized as *fructus*, but as part of the increasing heritage, which would be passed on by the master some day (Ulpian, *Dig.* 5.3.27pr. in Eck/Heinrichs, *Sklaven und Freigelassene*, no. 11).

⁴⁹ Rupprecht, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 103.

consideration, and that is the wrong which the slave has caused by leaving his master Philemon without permission. The author consequently not only uses clear legal terms but at the same time a formulaic phrase that is well-known from documents and widely and commonly applied in order to express the obligation he himself took over for Onesimus in an appropriately solemn and legally binding way. A figurative mode of expression (see, for example, Epictetus 4.1.33–40) would neither do justice to the underlying problem, nor would it correspond with the juridical dimension of the subject matter of slavery.

Although the relationship between Paul and Onesimus cannot be clarified by means of the context preserved in Philemon, it becomes obvious that everyone will get into trouble who has motivated a slave to run away (Paulus, *Sent.* 2.31.33) or accommodates the slave of another master (see the necklace *CIL* XV 7171).⁵⁰

5. *The Context of Phlm 17–20*

The author constructs two parallel conditional clauses (both have εἰ with indicative in their *protasis*), and thus he presents a structure in which he leaves open if the content of each indicates reality or unreality. Accordingly, reality or unreality (or improbability) of the second part, the *apodosis*, depends on the decision to interpret the conditioning subordinate clause as realistic or not. This means for Phlm 17: on the condition that there is a companionship between Philemon and Paul (see the direct address with ἔχεις κοινωνόν) Philemon should take in Onesimus just the way he would take in Paul or took him in once. For Phlm 18: If Onesimus has done anything wrong against Philemon or owes him anything, he should transfer that obligation to Paul, i.e. he should charge that to Paul's account. The structure implies that it is left to Philemon, to determine if there is a companionship between the two of them, Paul and him. If the answer is yes, this companionship refers to Onesimus, too, who himself has a companionship with Paul. Analogously, it again depends on Philemon's view, if actually there is a problem between Philemon and Onesimus. The problem becomes his own only with Paul speaking up for Onesimus and his companionship with him. Paul deliberately expands the companionship to the

⁵⁰ Cf. Eck/Heinrichs, *Sklaven und Freigelassene*, nos. 190 and 189.

slave Onesimus (Phlm 1 and 19). All in all Phlm 19 adjoins exactly where Paul—who identifies himself by means of personal pronoun and name—solemnly, formally, and legally obliges himself to vouch for Onesimus and his debt and offence. Its meaningfulness is not weakened by Phlm 19b, because by that verse the author expresses that being under the obligation to Paul—in whatever respect ever this obligation has to be characterized—should definitely motivate Philemon’s behavior, which appears to be possible. The formula in 19a is used in an absolute sense and is not affected other former relationships of debenture. This is the only way for Philemon to choose the right thing freely and on his own. In that context the following emphatic address *ναὶ ἀδελφέ* is to be seen. Paul wants to take pleasure in Philemon’s behavior and in Phlm 20 he implies the tendency of this specific behavior.

The use of common terms from contract law and a juridical formula are essential for successfully marking out a definite attitude for the other party. Besides, the legal enforceability expressed in Phlm 19a makes Philemon aware of the gravity of the subject matter. After all the companionship with Jesus Christ is at stake, which should be realized as a mirror image among and by those belonging to Christ Jesus (gen. Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ) and in which then one vouches for the other, as Paul himself exemplarily does for Onesimus and sketches out for his addressee Philemon in Phlm 19. But not only the terms in Phlm 17–20 are chosen adroitly, the pronouns in the first and second person singular are employed in such a way that they support this intention. The relationship between Paul and Philemon is always maintained, goes from 18 *σε...ἐμοί* to 19 *ἐγώ...σοι*, and then to 20 *ἐγώ, σου...μου*. The personal pronoun of the first person (‘I’) permanently addresses Philemon directly, integrates him and itself explicitly into the progress of the text, while the community spirit is strengthened by this linguistic connection.⁵¹ Finally the author returns with Phlm 20 to the point where he has already been in Phlm 7 in a more general way: the thing is that Philemon should give others and God pleasure by what he does (twice the vocative *ἀδελφέ*). What in general should refresh the saints’ hearts in 7 (*τὰ σπλάγχχα τῶν ἁγίων ἀναπέπνυται*) should in particular refresh Paul’s heart in 20 (*ἀναπαυσόν μου τὰ σπλάγχχα*). This specification is a consequence, because previously the linking of mutual companionship between Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus has been demonstrated. The

⁵¹ Similarly O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, 286, 300.

two prepositional phrases ἐν κυρίῳ and even more ἐν Χριστῷ leave no doubt that it is not primarily Paul's delight in Philemon's behavior which is decisive here, but it is the community in Christ which should shine in it and be realized.

Addenda

Apart from some printing inconsistencies in the layout of my article in its original German version,⁵² there are some significant shortcomings that must be addressed here briefly: (1) the transcription of P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2836 I correctly took over from the *editio princeps*⁵³ contains two errors in print: first, in l. 18 the dot below ν of αὐθεντικὴν (thus αὐθεντικήν) does not show up in print (to mark the reading as uncertain); second, the transcription originally had a stop after ται in l. 20 (thus ται.), which was printed erratically as 'ται'.⁵⁴ These two errors are corrected above in the English translation. (2) Once I mixed up the protagonists involved in Philemon, when I wrote: "eben dem Unbill, der durch die eigenmächtige Entfernung des Sklaven von dessen Herrn Onesimus entstanden ist" ('and that is the wrong the slave has caused by leaving his master Onesimus without permission'). Of course, Onesimus is the slave and Philemon his master.

When I finished this study in 2000, my revised and enlarged dissertation had not been published. There I address the phenomenon of *hapax legomena* in even more detail than in the study from 1999 I referred to above,⁵⁵ above all as far as the definition and delimitation of *hapax legomena*, the significance of other words that are only used two or three times in a defined text corpus, and a methodological application of all of that to the *hapax legomena* and other rare words in 2 Peter are concerned.⁵⁶

Meanwhile Peter Arzt-Grabner has systematized his findings in documentary papyri⁵⁷ and utilized them for accomplishing a full-scale

⁵² Above all, footnotes that appear on the following page and not at the bottom of the pages they belong to (for instance, notes 29–31 on pp. 193–4 and notes 43–45 pp. 196–7).

⁵³ Cf. M. Crawford, in: P.Oxy. XXXVIII, 40.

⁵⁴ For the errors see Kraus, 'Eine vertragsrechtliche Verpflichtung in Phlm 19', 193.

⁵⁵ See above n. 39.

⁵⁶ Cf. Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort*, 311–53.

⁵⁷ See above n. 9 and 10.

commentary on Philemon in the series ‘Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament’, edited by himself, Amphilocheios Papathomas, Athens, and Mauro Pesce, Bologna.⁵⁸ The series is not meant “als Alternative zu bibelwissenschaftlichen Kommentaren im traditionellen Sinn, sondern als wichtige Ergänzung [zu ihnen]”⁵⁹ (‘as an alternative to the traditional academic Biblical commentaries, but as an important addition [to them]’). Thus, the commentary on Philemon has the goal of offering a presentation that brings together the world of thought and language of contemporary readers with that in the Letter to Philemon. Arzt-Grabner’s philological observations are sound, his discussions of the papyri meticulous. In detail he addresses the most significant terms, the verbs ἀδικέω, ὀφείλω, and ἐλλογέω (Phlm 18), ἀποτίνω and προσοφείλω (Phlm 19), the self-identification ἐγὼ Παῦλος and the formula ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ (Phlm 19), and has some very interesting additional references to documentary papyri and observations—for example, on the so-called *Cheirographon* (for χειρόγραφον see Col 2:14)—so that these can supplement the lexicographical, semantic, and socio-cultural study presented above. Even if in tendency his observations are similar to mine in shedding new light on Phlm 17–20, his general assessment of the Letter to Philemon is different: he identifies Phlm 17 as the crucial center of the whole text (for me it is the whole context of Phlm 17–20), according to which and its business language (κοινωνός for the business partner in documents) Philemon is asked “seinen Sklaven Onesimos im vollen Sinn als Partner aufzunehmen, im religiösen Sinn als Glaubensbruder, aber auch im menschlichen Sinn als mitverantwortlichen Partner im Rahmen seiner alltäglichen Geschäfte oder in der Leitung der christlichen Gemeinde”⁶⁰ (‘to take in his slave Onesimus as full partner, that is in a religious sense as brother in faith, but also in a human sense as co-responsible partner in the course of his everyday business or in leading the Christian community’). Without doubt, it is correct to compare terms and phrases with the language of the documentary papyri, which—at least partly—have preserved the language of the time.⁶¹ However, I still see the focus of Philemon on

⁵⁸ Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon*.

⁵⁹ Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon*, 38.

⁶⁰ Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon*, 275.

⁶¹ This is what Arzt-Grabner correctly points out (*Philemon*, 277). About method and approach of the commentary series and its first volume see Kraus, ‘Review of Arzt-Grabner’.

a companionship between Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus, which is to imitate the companionship or, in another words, the community, we have in Christ (Phlm 20).

The evidence accumulated by Arzt-Grabner motivates J. Albert Harrill in his work on *Slaves in the New Testament*, in part a collection of essays that were previously published, to identify the genre of the Letter to Philemon as a “‘journeyman apprentice’ contract”, in which Philemon is asked “to let Onesimus be apprenticed to Paul for service in the gospel (cf. Phlm 13)”.⁶² Thus, for Harrill Philemon is a letter of recommendation, in which Phlm 18–19 can be interpreted in a way that Philemon should “entrust the slave with new responsibility, as a business partner”.⁶³ However, some problems still remain unsolved, such as how and why Paul and Onesimus ended up in the same prison, or that many potential parallels in documentary papyri to Philemon are more or less general references to slavery and not explicit formulaic expressions whose exact background can be located. Even if Harrill justifies the treatment of the Letter to Philemon in his introduction (Onesimus is the only real slave portrait in the New Testament, the others in the following chapters are created characters), it is surprising that this essential and crucial text for the subject is only briefly discussed. Although Harrill formulates a challenging hypothesis, he seems to be content with summarizing it on just eleven pages. Unfortunately, Harrill does not discuss the possible interpretations of the formula in Phlm 20.⁶⁴ However, the community with or better ‘in’ Christ is central for the relationship between Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus, and, thus, the imitation of the relationship Paul has and Philemon should have with/‘in’ Christ is linked with that; and this community and/or relationship is not just reinforcing the obligation expressed in the legal formulaic language employed. This is confirmed by Tobias Nicklas in a forthcoming essay, in which he gives a brief report on the meanings and implications of the most significant terms and critically interacts with Harrill’s hypothesis by referring to the whole context of Philemon.⁶⁵

⁶² Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament*, 14 (cf. his argumentation, 14–16). Obviously, Harrill champions the *fugitivus* thesis, as can be seen in his argument against Lampe in Harrill, ‘Using the Roman Jurists’, 135–8.

⁶³ Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament*, 15.

⁶⁴ For critical evaluations of the whole book, see Malina, ‘Review of Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament*’; Sigismund, ‘Review of Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament*’.

⁶⁵ Nicklas, ‘The Letter to Philemon’ (forthcoming). Nevertheless, also in Nicklas’

Thus, Nicklas clearly and correctly points out that the predominant level of interpretation is that of a companionship or community between equal brothers (and sisters) ἐν κυρίῳ and ἐν Χριστῷ, with which he modifies Harrill's view that Philemon regards Onesimus only from the perspective of the law of property.

In an article dealing with the structure of Philemon, John Paul Heil suggests a plausible chiasmic structure that fits well the meaning intended with this letter.⁶⁶ Of more interest for our context are Heil's English translation of the Letter to Philemon and his philological observations, above all on Phlm 17–20. Heil clearly identifies the close connection between ὀφείλω and its compound προσοφείλω, and regards the prefix προσ- as intensifying "Philemon's indebtedness to Paul".⁶⁷ He is correct in pointing out Paul's appeal to Philemon "on the basis of love... and the good he can do under benevolence",⁶⁸ but does not link this with ἐν κυρίῳ or ἐν Χριστῷ (Phlm 20). However, even if Heil seems to be aware of the two dimensions being present in Phlm 18–19, i.e. the debt Onesimus owes to Philemon and that Philemon owes to Paul his very self, both interpreted as Christian obligation and as having to do with a business relationship,⁶⁹ he fails to identify the latter as being primarily present on the level of juridical language and the other as the decisive feature of Paul's appeal. Paul employs legal terms and phrases in order to illustrate and emphasize the companionship he wants to preserve and/or to reestablish, the community 'in Christ'. Without doubt, Heil is right in identifying the pronouns referring to Philemon and Paul in Phlm 19–20 as "catch-words"⁷⁰ and in underlining the significance of the vocative ἀδελφέ, (Phlm 7, and even more affirmative ναὶ ἀδελφέ in 20).⁷¹

essay Phlm 17–20 play the decisive role for interpreting the main intention of the Letter to Philemon as a whole.

⁶⁶ Heil, 'The Chiasmic Structure and Meaning', 178–206.

⁶⁷ Heil, 'The Chiasmic Structure and Meaning', 201 n. 56. That is why he translates προσοφείλω in Phlm 19 as "more than owes" (201).

⁶⁸ Heil, 'The Chiasmic Structure and Meaning', 201.

⁶⁹ See Heil, 'The Chiasmic Structure and Meaning', 201–2. Although, Heil recognizes the "commercial metaphor", he puts the two dimensions of being (business) partners and brothers equally next to each other. There is also no reference to ἐν κυρίῳ and/or ἐν Χριστῷ in Heil's conclusion (205–6).

⁷⁰ Heil, 'The Chiasmic Structure and Meaning', 202.

⁷¹ Cf. Heil, 'The Chiasmic Structure and Meaning', esp. 187, 193, 202. Furthermore, Heil brings in ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπητόν (Phlm 16) and reflects upon other usages of ἀδελφός and their significance for interpreting the appealing character of the Letter to Philemon (see, especially 199–202).

Both can be keys to a deeper understanding of this stunning piece of Christian literature and, together with the juridical style, should be taken more into account in commenting on Philemon in the future.

In 2004 Peter Arzt-Grabner readdressed the issue of the past history between Philemon and his slave Onesimus.⁷² After discussing the most important developments in research, especially about Onesimus' status (see above), he looks for relevant clues within the letter that indicate something about Philemon's and Onesimus' previous relationship and finds them in *ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστος* (V. 11) and *ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὥραν* (V. 15). Then he compares these two phrases with similar literary and documentary texts that have not been considered since then. In conclusion, and relying on his linguistic and semantic findings, Arzt-Grabner favors the *fugitives*-hypothesis. However, he suggests to distinguish between a *fugitivus* and an *erro* (a 'tramp' or 'vagabond'; cf. Ulpianus, *Dig.* 21.1.17.14; but see *Dig.* 11.4.1.5, where Ulpianus defines an *erro* as a *fugitivus*), and to regard Onesimus as belonging to the latter kind, because there must have already been something wrong between Onesimus and Philemon in the past that causes Philemon to see his slave as 'good-for-nothing' (see V. 11, Onesimus described as *τὸν ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστον*).

Furthermore, a new commentary arouses interest at first glance, especially as its author, John G. Nordling, is a classicist who wrote a really large commentary on this rather short text of the New Testament. So readers may expect a fresh perspective and some intriguing observations. However, either due to the conception of the series 'Concordia Commentary', which is developed to help pastors, missionaries, and teachers to perceive God's word clearly, and the theological approach Nordling has, this verse by verse commentary is just conventional and theological. Nordling sticks to the traditional view that Onesimus is a runaway slave.⁷³ All in all Nordling's interpretation of Philemon and his philological notes do not really bring forth any new insights.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, and that is why this commentary is mentioned here, this work shows how philological notes and discussions can lead to diverse hermeneutical results, in this case to the conventional theological interpretation already found in the standard commentaries to the Letter to Philemon.

⁷² Cf. Arzt-Grabner, 'Onesimus erro', 131–43.

⁷³ As he has already stated in Nordling, 'Onesimus *Fugitivus*', 97–119.

⁷⁴ Nordling, *Philemon. Concordia Commentary*.

Today we all have certain ideas, often simply limited to fragmentary and truncated knowledge or reduced to stereotypes or clichés. This is all the more true the more present a significant piece of information is and how it shines through in an education. Students learn about democracy being developed in Athens and keep that in mind for their lives. But do we call a system democratic that excludes women, slaves, and children from, for instance, elections? Slavery in antiquity, for instance, is often associated today with chains, maltreatment, and a lack of freedom or human rights, and thus regarded as being a feature of former times our modern world has outlived and has made extinct. But what if we compare ancient house slaves with some people who are not treated humanely rights today, who work under horrible conditions, or who are just sold to others like any other good?⁷⁵ It is self-evident that slavery was and is a complex subject matter.⁷⁶ Thus, we must reflect on our modern notions and utilize all kinds of observations, discoveries, and new insights to achieve a more balanced and adequate idea of what and how slavery was in those days. However, there have been by far too many publications on slavery in general and specific aspects of it in particular since the publication of my article in 2001, a few titles almost randomly chosen from the bulk illustrate:

Heinz Bellen and Heinz Heinen provide a comprehensive bibliography about ancient slavery that comprises more than eight hundred pages and 11,415 titles. This is more than just a starting point, as these two volumes are arranged according to subject.⁷⁷ In principle, the publications—in print, forthcoming, or on process—of the project ‘Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei’ of the ‘Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur’ in Mainz/Germany under the direction of Heinz Heinen, University of Trier/Germany, offer a first-class access to the phenomenon

⁷⁵ Of interest in this respect are the first six contributions (by S. Allam, B. Zimmermann, G. Wöhrle, E. Herrmann-Otto, H. Ankum, and H. Wieling) in Herrmann-Otto, *Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart*, which deal with different forms of ‘unfreedom’ in antiquity. For a brief summary of the volume, see Scheidel, ‘Review of Herrmann-Otto, *Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse*’.

⁷⁶ In this respect, cf. my thoughts about the *pater familias* and his right to decide on life or death on the hand and restrictions to it on the other (see text above and n. 47 and 48).

⁷⁷ Heinen/Bellen, *Bibliographie zur antiken Sklaverei*. This bibliography is user-friendlier than Miller, *Slavery and Slaving in World History* (from 1993, listing 10,344 titles), where readers have to find titles on a specific subject with the help of the indices.

of ancient slavery.⁷⁸ In this context, the recently published part X/volume 6 of the *Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur Sklaverei (CRRS)* is of specific significance for the topic tackled in the present essay, as it deals with the *servus fugitives*, no matter if Onesimus is actually regarded as a fugitive slave or not.⁷⁹ Stefan Knoch discusses the many facets of welfare (to be understood in analogy of Latin *cura* and Greek ἐπιμέλεια) for private slaves.⁸⁰ In the first English monograph on manumission in the ancient Greek world Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz focuses on freeing slaves and the status the released slaves had thereafter. In general, that can be important for an approach to the Letter to Philemon, at least to evaluate the different theories about Onesimus and his status.⁸¹ Catherine Hezser's accurate study of Jewish slavery may also help to form appropriate background knowledge on different socio-cultural settings in which slavery occurred.⁸² A significant contribution, now available in paperback, is put forward by Jennifer A. Glancy, who succeeds in correcting and supplementing our modern perception and knowledge of ancient slavery by focusing on slaves as 'bodies' to be used or abused and their meaning in respect of churches and church membership (see the titles of the five main chapter, each containing the word 'body'/'bodies'). Thus, she embeds the importance of slavery for early Christianity into the larger specter of Roman slavery.⁸³

Bibliography

- Aland, B., et al. (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior IV: Die katholischen Briefe 2: Die Petrusbriefe. Teil 1: Text, Teil 2: Begleitende Materialien* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2000).
- Arzt, P., 'Ägyptische Papyri und das Neue Testament. Zur Frage der Vergleichbarkeit von Texten', *PzB* 6 (1997) 21–9.
- , 'Analyse der Paulusbriefe vor dem Hintergrund dokumentarischer Papyri', *PzB* 3 (1994) 99–114.

⁷⁸ See 'Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz' (<http://www.adw-mainz.de/2005/vorhaben/forschweb.htm>; last access 04/10/2006).

⁷⁹ Klingenberg, *Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur Sklaverei* X.6.

⁸⁰ Knoch, *Sklavenfürsorge*. Other groups of slaves are excluded, such as the *servi publici*, as are Christian sources and the topic of manumission.

⁸¹ Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*. See also the review by D. Kamen, 'Review of Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*'. For manumission and early Christianity see Harrill, *Manumission*.

⁸² Hezser, *Jewish Slavery in Antiquity*.

⁸³ Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*.

- , 'Brauchbare Sklaven. Ausgewählte Papyrustexte zum Philemonbrief', *PzB* 1 (1992) 44–58.
- Arzt-Grabner, P., 'Onesimus erro. Zur Vorgeschichte des Philemonbriefes', *ZNW* 95 (2005) 131–43.
- , *Philemon* (PKNT 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).
- Arzt, P./Ernst, M., 'Neues Testament und Papyrologie' (Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg 1989–1991; Salzburg: Im Auftrag des Akademischen Senates, 1993) 11–8.
- Bahr, G.J., 'The Subscriptions in the Pauline Letters', *JBL* 87 (1968) 27–41.
- Barclay, J.M.G., 'Paul, Philemon and the Dilemma of Christian Slave Ownership', *NTS* 37 (1991) 161–86.
- Bellen, H./Heinen, H., *Bibliographie zur antiken Sklaverei*. 2 vols. (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei. Beiheft 4; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003).
- Berger, K./Colpe, C. (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Neuen Testament* (NTD.T 1; Göttingen-Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987).
- Binder, H., *Der Brief des Paulus an Philemon* (Together with J. Rohde; ThHK 11.2; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1990).
- Blass, F., 'Review of Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*', *ThLZ* 20 (1895) 486–488.
- , *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896).
- Cribiore, R., *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (ASP 36; Atlanta/Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996).
- Debrunner, A., *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache II: Grundfragen und Grundzüge des nachklassischen Griechisch* (SG 114; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1954).
- Deissmann, G.A., *Bibelstudien. Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums* (Marburg: Elwert, 1895).
- , *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Texte* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1923 [1908]).
- , *Neue Bibelstudien. Sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften zur Erklärung des Neuen Testaments* (Marburg: Elwert, 1897).
- Dibelius, M., *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon* (HNT 12; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1953).
- Eck, W./Heinrichs, J., *Sklaven und Freigelassene in der Gesellschaft der römischen Kaiserzeit* (TzF 61; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993).
- Ernst, J., *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an Philemon, an die Kolosser, an die Epheser* (RNT 7.3; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1974).
- Glancy, J.A., *Slavery in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006 [paperback edition]).
- Gnilka, J., *Der Philemonbrief* (HThK 10.4; Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1982).
- Gross, W.H., 'Art. Signum', *KP* 5 (1979) 184–6.
- Harrauer, H./Sijpesteijn, P.J. (eds.), *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht. Textband* (MPER N.S. 15; Vienna: Hollinek, 1985).
- Harrill, J. Albert, *Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).
- , Albert, *Slaves in the New Testament: Literary, Social, and Moral Dimensions* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006).
- , Albert, 'Using the Roman Jurists to Interpret Philemon: A Response to Peter Lampe', *ZNW* 90 (1999) 135–8.
- Harris, W.V., *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge/Mass.-London: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Heil, J.P., 'The Chiasmic Structure and Meaning of Paul's Letter to Philemon', *Bib.* 82 (2001) 178–206.
- Herrmann-Otto, Elisabeth (ed.), *Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse von der Antike bis in*

- die Gegenwart. Eine Einführung. Sklaverei—Knechtschaft—Zwangsarbeit. Vol. 1. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2005).
- Hezser, Catherine, *Jewish Slavery in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Horsley, G.H.R., 'The Fiction of 'Jewish Greek'', *NDIEC* 5 (1989) 5–40.
- Kamen, D., 'Review of Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*', *BMCR* 2005.11.21 (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2005/2005-11-21.html>; last access 24/08/2006).
- Klingenberg, G. (ed.), *Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur Sklaverei (CRRS). Teil X: Juristisch speziell definierte Sklavengruppen, Vol. 6: Servus Fugitivus* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005).
- Knoch, S., *Sklavenfürsorge im Römischen Reich* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2005).
- Koskeniemi, H., *Studien zur Ideologie und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis auf 400 n.Chr.* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1956).
- Kraus, T.J., '(Il)literacy in Non-Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Further Aspects of the Educational Ideal in Ancient Literary Sources and Modern Times', *Mn.* 53 (2000) 322–41.
- , 'Παρά κυρίου, παρά κυρίῳ oder omit in 2Petr 2,11. Textkritik und Interpretation vor dem Hintergrund juristischer Diktion und der Verwendung von παρά', *ZNW* 91 (2000) 265–73.
- , 'Review of Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon*', *RBL* 35 (2004) <http://www.bookreviews.org>; last access 24/08/2006).
- , '“Slow writers”—βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?', *Er.* 97 (1999) 86–97.
- , *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (WUNT 2.136; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).
- , '“Uneducated”, ‘ignorant’, or even ‘illiterate’? Aspects and Background for an Understanding of ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ (and ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ) in Acts 4.13', *NTS* 45 (1999) 434–49.
- Lampe, P., 'Keine „Sklavenflucht“ des Onesimus', *ZNW* 76 (1985) 135–7.
- Llewelyn, S.R., 'P. Harris I 62 and the Pursuit of Fugitive Slaves', *ZPE* 118 (1997) 245–50.
- Lohmeyer, E., *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon* (KEK 9.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953).
- Lohse, E., *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon* (KEK 9.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).
- Malina, B.J., 'Review of Harrill, *Slaves*', *RBL* 37 (2006; <http://www.bookreviews.org>; last access 24/08/2006).
- Miller, J.C., *Slavery and slaving in world history: A bibliography, 1900–1991* (Millwood: M.E. Sharpe, 1993).
- Mitteis, L., *Römisches Privatrecht bis auf die Zeit Diokletians I: Grundbegriffe und Lehre von den Juristischen Personen* (Systematisches Handbuch der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft 1.6.1; Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1908).
- Moulton, J.H., *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. IV: Style* (By N. Turner, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1976).
- , Milligan, G., *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources* (Glasgow: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930 [repr. 1972]).
- Munck, J., 'Folkesprog og Bibelsprog i det Ny Testamente', *DTT* 7 (1944) 65–84.
- Nicklas, T., 'The Letter to Philemon—a discussion with J. Albert Harrill', in: Porter, S.E. (ed.), *Paul's World* (Pauline Studies 4; Leiden: Brill 2007; forthcoming).
- Nordling, J.G., 'Onesimus Fugitivus: A Defense of the Runaway Slave Hypothesis in Philemon', *JSTNT* 41 (1991) 97–119.
- , *Philemon: A theological Exposition of Sacred Scripture* (Concordia Commentary; Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2004).
- O'Brien, P.T., *Colossians, Philemon* (WBC 44; Waco: Nelson, 1982).
- Pestman, P.W., *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

- Peterson, N.R., *Rediscovering Paul. Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).
- Plümacher, E., 'Art. Deißmann', TRE 8 (1981) 406–08.
- Porter, S.E., 'Is Critical Discourse Analysis Critical? An Evaluation Using Philemon as a Test Case', in: idem/J.T. Reed (eds.), *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament. Approaches and Results* (JSNT.S 170, Studies in New Testament Greek 4; Sheffield: Continuum, 1999).
- Probst, H., *Paulus und der Brief. Die Rhetorik des antiken Briefes als Form der paulinischen Korintherkorrespondenz* (1Kor 8–10) (WUNT 2.45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991).
- Radermacher, L., *Neutestamentliche Grammatik. Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache* (HNT 1; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, ²1925).
- Raspe, B.M., 'The Prisoner Paul in the Eyes of Onesimus', *NTS* 37 (1991) 187–203.
- Robertson, A.T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934).
- Ros, J., *De studie van het Bijbelgrieksch van Hugo Grotius tot Adolf Deissmann* (Nijmegen-Utrecht: Dekker & VandeVegt, 1940).
- Rupprecht, H.A., *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994).
- Scheidel, W., 'Review of Herrmann-Otto, *Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse*', *BMCR* 2006.08.54 (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2006/2006-08-54.html>; last access 02/09/2006).
- Schenk, W., 'Der Brief des Paulus an Philemon in der neueren Forschung (1945–1987)', *ANRW* 2.25.2 (1987) 3439–95.
- Schmidt, P.L., 'Art. Brief', DNP 2 (1997) 771–3.
- Schnelle, U., *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (UTB 1830; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1996).
- Schneider, F./Stenger, W., *Studien zum neutestamentlichen Briefformular* (NTTS 11; Leiden: Brill, 1987).
- Sigismund, M., 'Review of Harrill, *Slaves*', *RBL* 37 (2006; <http://www.bookreviews.org>; last access 24/08/2006).
- Stirewalt, Jr., M.L., *Studies of Ancient Greek Epistolography* (SBL Resources for Biblical Study 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).
- Strecker, G., 'Das Göttinger Projekt „Neuer Wettstein“', *ZNW* 83 (1992) 245–52.
- , Schnelle, U. (eds.), *Neuer Wettstein. Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechenland und Hellenismus. Bd. II: Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse. Teilband 1–2* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996).
- Stuhlmacher, P., *Der Brief an Philemon* (EKK 18; Zürich and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger-Neukirchner, 1975).
- Thomas, R., *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Thraede, K., *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefoptik* (Zetemata 48; München: Beck, 1970).
- Thumb, A., 'Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des Biblischen Griechisch', *Theologische Rundschau* 5 (1902) 85–99.
- , *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der Κοινή* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1901).
- Turner, E.G., *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ²1980).
- Turner, N., *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1965).
- , 'Jewish and Christian Influence on New Testament Vocabulary', *NT* 16 (1974) 149–160.
- , 'The Unique Character of Biblical Greek', *VT* 5 (1955) 208–13.
- Vergote, J., 'Grec biblique', *DBS* 3 (1938) 1320–69.
- Voelz, J.W., 'The Language of the New Testament', *ANRW* 2.25.2 (1984) 894–977.
- von Woess, F., *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Ägypten* (MBPF 6; Munich: Beck, 1924).

- Wettstein, J.J., *H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam: Ex Officina Dommerian, 1752 [Nachdr.: Graz 1962]).
- White, J.L., 'New Testament Epistolary Literature in the Framework of Ancient Epistolography', *ANRW* 2.25.2 (1984) 1730–56.
- Wiedemann, T.E.J., *Greek and Roman Slavery* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).
- Winter, S.C., 'Paul's Letter to Philemon', *NTS* 33 (1987) 1–15.
- Youtie, H.C., 'Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239–61 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae* II, 629–66).
- , *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973).
- , *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I (Bonn: Habelt, 1981).
- , 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ΣΠΕ* 17 (1975) 201–21 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I, 179–99).
- Zelnick-Abramovitz, R., *Not Wholly Free: The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World* (Mn.S 266; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

7Q5—*STATUS QUAESTIONIS* AND FUNDAMENTAL REMARKS TO QUALIFY THE DISCUSSION OF THE PAPYRUS FRAGMENT*

When the findings from those caves with only a few scrolls were published in 1962 (2–3Q, 5–10Q),¹ nobody suspected that years later the presence of a papyrus fragment with two verses of the Gospel of Mark would be maintained.² The purpose of this study is twofold: (I) after a presentation of the *status quaestionis* that is as neutral as possible³ those proposals for identifying the text of the papyrus fragment are critically assessed, which proposals determine the recent discussion. (II) With the help of fundamental palaeographical and general papyrological notes to be made at the appropriate places, the discussion of 7Q5 (and, thus, of other heavily fragmentary remnants of manuscripts) should be had on a firm base, objectified, and consequently be seen in neutral terms.

1. *A summary of the Proposals for Identifying the Fragments from Cave 7*

Only for 7Q there is an exclusive and strikingly characteristic connection between papyrus as writing material *and* the Greek language. First of all, only some of the papyrus fragments found in 7Q and the textual

* Originally published as ‘7Q5: *Status quaestionis* und grundlegende Anmerkungen zur Relativierung der Diskussion um das Papyrusfragment’, *RdQ* 19 (1999) 239–58. Used with kind permission.

¹ Cf. Baillet/Milik/de Vaux, *Les ‘Petites Grottes’* (DJD III).

² See, for instance, Ekschmitt, *Ugarit-Qumran-Nag Hammadi*, 172: “Du aber sei in allem nüchtern” (‘But in regard you should be sober’) directed at the supporters of the identification; Thiede, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript?*, 24 and Hunger, ‘7Q5’, 39: “Weil, so schließt er messerscharf, nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf” (‘For, he reasons pointedly, that which must not, can not be’) using a poem by Morgenstern against the opponents of the identification. For further examples, see Rohrhirsch, ‘Zur Relevanz’, 81–2. About the contributions in Mayer, *Christen und Christliches*, see Backhaus, ‘Qumran und die Urchristen’, 364–8.

³ It has repeatedly been claimed that academic interaction should be based on objectivity and fairness. Cf. Pickering, *The Identity*, 145; Rohrhirsch, ‘Zur Relevanz’, 81–82; De La Potterie, ‘Eine unerwartete Bestätigung’, 58; Spottorno, ‘Can Methodological Limits’, 66–8, 77.

remains reprinted on the hardened soil (7Q19) could be identified and reconstructed: 7Q1 (fragment 1 = Exod 28:4–6; frg. 2 = Exod 28:7; thus, 7Q1 = 7QpapLXXExod) and 7Q2 (Ep Jer 43b, 44; thus, 7Q2 = 7QpapEpJer gr). All the other fragments were presented in the familiar way in the *editio princeps* with critical transcriptions and accompanying facsimiles.⁴

Then the Spanish Jesuit José O'Callaghan made proposals for identifying 7Q4–7, 7Q9–10, and 7Q15 ten years after the first edition had been published,⁵ which immediately aroused debate and above all⁶ met with rejection of his proposals.⁷ O'Callaghan attempted to substantiate his hypotheses (especially in regard to 7Q4 and 7Q5) in consecutive special studies and to reply to objections.⁸ Here are his proposals for identifying the fragments in detail:⁹

⁴ Cf. Baillet/Milik/de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'* (DJD III), 27–36, 143–6 and plates VIII, IX, XXX.

⁵ Cf. O'Callaghan, '¿Papiros neotestamentarios...?', 91–100 (English translation in *JBL* 91 [1972] 1–14); idem, '¿1 Tim 3,16...?', 362–7; idem, '¿Un fragmento del Evangelico de San Marcos...?', 429–31; idem, 'Tres probables papiros neotestamentarios', 83–9.

⁶ Because of partly accepting O'Callaghan's hypotheses in a restricted way Estrada, 'On the Latest Identifications', 109–17; White, 'O'Callaghan's Identifications', 12; Sabourin, 'A Fragment', 311; Urbán, 'Observaciones', 233–51; Estrada/White, *The First New Testament*. Restrained in their reaction are Martini, 'Testi neotestamentari', 156–8; Bernardi, 'L'evangile', 453–6; Vardaman, 'The Earliest Fragments', 374–6; Pickering, *The Identity*, 145–8.

⁷ Above all, see Baillet, 'Les manuscripts' (1972), 508–16; idem, 'Les manuscrits' (1973), 340–50; Benoît, 'Note sur les fragments', 321–4; idem, 'Nouvelle note', 5–12; Fee, 'Some dissenting notes', 109–12; Parker, '7Q5', 467–9; Roberts, 'On some presupposed papyrus fragments', 446–7; Garnet, 'O'Callaghan's Fragments', 6–12; Aland, 'Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III', 358–76; idem, 'Über die Möglichkeit', 14–38; Hemer, 'A Note on 7Q5', 155–7; idem, '7Q5', 39–40.

⁸ See in detail O'Callaghan, 'Notas sobre 7Q', 519–21; idem, 'Les Papyrus de la grotte 7', 188–95; idem, 'El cambio $\delta < \tau$ ', 425–6; idem, 'El ordenador' (1973), 73–9; idem, 'El ordenador' (1974), 21–30; idem, 'Sobre la identificación', 45–55; idem, 'Nota sobre 7Q4 y 7Q5', 61–3; idem, '¿El texto de 7Q5...?', 125; idem, *Los Papiros Griegos*; idem, 'The Identifications', 287–94; idem, 'Nuevas consideraciones', 41–7; 'El cambio $\alpha\iota > \eta$ ', 567–9. After the revival of the discussion of his hypotheses: O'Callaghan, 'Verso le origine', 269–72; idem, 'Sobre el papiro', 191–7; idem, *Los primeros testimonios*.

⁹ However, he himself differentiates between identifications "posibles" (7Q10, 7Q15 due to the few letters left) and "probables" (all the others). Cf. O'Callaghan, '¿Papiros neotestamentarios...?', 92 n. 1; idem, 'Tres probables papiros neotestamentarios', 84–9; idem, 'Les Papyrus de la grotte 7', 188, 193; idem, *Los Papiros Griegos*, 34–76.

7Q4	1Tim 3:16; 4:1, 3	7Q6.2	Acts 27:38	7Q9	Rom 5:11–12
7Q5	Mark 6:52–53	7Q7	Mark 12:17	7Q10	2 Pet 1:15
7Q6.1	Mark 4:28	7Q8 ¹⁰	Jas 1:23–24	7Q15	Mark 6:48

Alternative proposals were first and foremost made for 7Q4 and 7Q5,¹¹ whereas the two fragments of 7Q4 have increasingly been seen as parts of *grEnoch*.¹² In the course of the discussion 7Q5 was associated with text passages from the Old or First Testament (Exod 36:10–11;¹³ 2 Kgdms 4:12–5:1;¹⁴ 5:13–14;¹⁵ Zech 7:4–5),¹⁶ the New Testament (Matt 1:2–3;¹⁷ Mark 8:3–4;¹⁸ Luke 3:19–20;¹⁹ Heb 11:22–23;²⁰ 1 Pet 3:11–14),²¹ and even passages from classical Greek literature (Thuc. 1.41.2;²² Hom. *Od.* or *Il.*).²³

¹⁰ See here, too, Spottorno, 'Nota sobre los papiros', 261–3.

¹¹ An overview of the identifications proposed for the fragments from 7Q are given by Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener* I, 322; Urbán, 'Observaciones', 233–51; Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits be set', 76 n. 42.

¹² Based upon each other Nebe, '7Q4', 629–33; Puech, 'Notes sur les fragments', 592–600; Muro, 'The Greek Fragments', 307–12; Puech, 'Sept fragments grecs', 313–23. Consequently these fragments are identified as follows: 7Q4.1, 7Q8, 7Q12, and 7Q14 are parts of *grEnoch* 103.3–4, 7–8, 7Q11 is part of *grEnoch* 100.12, and 7Q13 of *grEnoch* 103.15. The identification of 7Q4.2, however, is the most uncertain one, although it appears plausible to accept it as *grEnoch* 98.11 or 105.17. About establishing these identifications as 7QpapEn gr see recently Flint, 'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings', 41–3. Tov, 'A List of the Texts', 694, puts a question mark after *papEn gr*, which is printed in parentheses for these fragments.

¹³ Cf. Garnet, 'Fragments', 8–9, who bases his reconstruction solely on the minimal consensus of the certain letters. See Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 122–4.

¹⁴ Cf. O'Callaghan, 'La Biblia', 425. See Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 120–1.

¹⁵ Cf. Roberts, 'On some presupposed papyrus fragments', 446–7. See Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 116–20.

¹⁶ Cf. Spottorno, 'Una nueva posible identificación', 541–3; idem, 'Pequeños fragmentos', 333–9. See Rohrhirsch, 'Zur Relevanz', 91–5.

¹⁷ Cf. Parker, '7Q5', 467–9, and Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 107–10.

¹⁸ Cf. O'Callaghan, 'The Identifications', 291–3; Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 110–4.

¹⁹ Cf. Aland, 'Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III', 375; Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 114–5.

²⁰ See supra n. 19.

²¹ See supra n. 18.

²² Cf. Hemer, 'A Note on 7Q5', 156–6, who nevertheless does not propose this passage for 7Q5, but tries to illustrate with the help of Thuc. 1.41.2 what he understands as a "partial coincidence" between 7Q5 and Mark 6:52–53. However, Hemer's idea was seriously discussed. See O'Callaghan, '¿El texto de 7Q5...?', 125; Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 124–6.

²³ Cf. O'Callaghan, 'El ordenador' (1973), 73–79; Rohrhirsch, *Markus in Qumran?*, 126–8.

Most of the authors themselves discarded their own proposals, did not follow up on them, or did not see them meet with any approval. For the current discussion only three proposals remain that deserve serious examination: of course, that of José O'Callaghan's (7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53) and the two of Maria Vittoria Spottorno, who recently modified her hypothesis (now 7Q5 = Zech 7:3c–5) and at the same time brought a passage of the Greek *Book of Enoch* to bear on the discussion of 7Q5 (*grEnoch* 15:9d–10).²⁴

7Q5—The hypothetical Identification by O'Callaghan and Spottorno

2.1 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53 (José O'Callaghan)

At a first glance, images of 7Q5 (enlarged with the help of computer technology) allow us to recognize five lines with nine letters without any problem. Then, on looking more carefully, some further remains of letters can be seen on the papyrus fragment, which is up to a maximum of 3.9×2.7 cm large, which is slightly and brownishly darkened, and which has letters between 2 and 3 millimeters high. As far as palaeography is concerned, the style of writing is to be identified as 'Zierstil' or 'decorative style', which can be observed in the period of time between 100 B.C.E. and 100 C.E.²⁵

²⁴ Cf. Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 72–7.

²⁵ Cf. Baillet/Milik/de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'* (DJD III), 144, and O'Callaghan, 'Papiros neotestamentarios...', 91, 93; idem, 'Les Papyrus de la grotte', 192. The description as and the term 'Zierstil' (cf. Roberts, in: Baillet/Milik/de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'* [DJD III], 142, 144) are generally derived from Schubart, *Palaeographie. Erster Teil*, 112–6, here 112: "Die Sitte, den Fuß des Buchstaben, wo er es zuläßt, mit einem Strich zu zieren... Wann sie sich voll entfaltet hat, ist ebenso schwer zu sagen wie ihre Dauer; nur sehr vorsichtig darf man ihr Leben auf mehr als ein Jahrhundert, etwa vom letzten Jahrhundert der Ptolemäer bis gegen 100 n. Chr. ansetzen." 'The custom to decorate the leg of the letter with a stroke, wherever possible... It is as hard to tell when it [the custom] has completely been developed as is to determine its duration; its lifespan can only be estimated very carefully to have been more than one century, i.e. for example from the last century of the Ptolemies to about 100 A.D.' Further, see Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology*, 85 ("late second/first century B.C.E."); Parsons, 'The Scripts and Their Date', 25 ("serified hands" among the "Judean material" from the 1st century B.C.E. to the 2nd C.E.). However, the additional qualification of the scribe's hand as being that of a βραδέως γράφων by Herbert Hunger ('7Q5', 34) is misleading. See in detail Kraus, "Slow writers", 86–97.

Certainly the printing of the *iota* in l. 2 as *subscriptum* (τϖ̂) and not *adscriptum* (τϖι) in the *editio princeps* might have been misleading;²⁶ but the reading of the papyrus there may serve as a hypothetical starting point to assess all the suggestions of how to read uncertain letters and their remains, so that this reading itself must be critically reassessed. In 1972, the same year as the *editio princeps*, Pierre Benoît put his own transcription next to O'Callaghan's. In the following these transcriptions are supplemented by two other ones, palaeographically argued for by Stuart R. Pickering and Émile Puech. The last three transcriptions mentioned are not accompanied by a proposal for identifying and reconstructing the text. In comparison, the identification by O'Callaghan, 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53, has been championed emphatically by Carsten Peter Thiede since 1984,²⁷ what resulted in a new dividing line between acceptance²⁸ and refusal²⁹ of the hypothesis itself.

²⁶ Cf. Baillet, 'Les manuscrits' (1973), 349; Pickering/Cook, *Has a Fragment*, 14. Stefan Enste correctly points out that the writing as *iota subscriptum* (τϖ̂) has become conventional among papyrologists. Cf. Enste, 'Qumran-Fragment', 190. I am indebted to W. Blümel, Cologne (editor of *ZPE*) for his ready decision to make Enste's study available to me prior to its final publication in *ZPE*.

²⁷ Cf. Thiede, '7Q', 538–59; idem, 'Neutestamentliche Papyrologie', 112–9; idem, 'Neues zum Markusfragment', 18–20; idem, *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift*, 35, 37–48; idem, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript*, 23–41, 69; idem, 'Greek Qumran Fragment 7Q5', 394–8; idem, '7Q5', 471–4; idem, 'Papyrologische Anfragen', 57–72.

²⁸ See, for instance, Hunger, '7Q5', 33–56; Riesenfeld, 'Neues Licht', 177–94; Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 322, here with caution and hesitatingly, but in an interview accepting O'Callaghan's hypothesis (Paci, 'Ohne Vorurteile weiterforschen', 55–7); Brunelli, 'Ein Indiz', 52–3; Paci, 'Nicht später als 50', 53–5. With some reservation Martini, 'Note sui papiri', 101–4, and, on the basis of Karl Popper's principle of fallibilism, Rohrhirsch, 'Das Qumranfragment 7Q5', 97–9; idem, *Markus in Qumran?*, especially 130; idem, 'Kleine Fragmente', 73–82. Further see Vernet, 'Si riafferma il papiro 7Q5', 42–60.

²⁹ Above all, Focant, 'Un fragment', 447–54; idem, '7Q5', 11–25; Rosenbaum, 'Cave 7Q5!', 189–205; Pickering/Cook, *Has a Fragment*; Pickering, 'Palaeographical Details', 27–31; Gundry, *Mark. A Commentary*, 277–8, 343–4; Stanton, *Gospel Truth?*; Boismard, 'À Propos de 7Q5', 585–8; Puech, 'Des fragments grecs', 571–7; Grelot, 'Note sur la propositions', 589–91; idem, 'Jésus et ses témoins', 412–23; Wischmeyer, 'Zu den neuen Frühdatierungen', 280–90, especially 280–3.

M.-É. Boismard³⁰ P. Benoît³¹ S.R. Pickering³² É. Puech³³ J. O'Callaghan³⁴

]. [	]. [	]. [	]. (.) [	]ε[
] τῷ α. [	] τῶιω. [	] τῶι α. [	] τῶι α. []η. [	]υτῶνη[
]η καὶ τῶ[	]η καιτω[	]η και τ. [	]η και τῶ[	]η καιτι[
ἐγέ]γνησ[εν	]γνησ[	]γνη. [	]γνη. [	]γνησ[
]θηεσ[	]θη.. [	]θη.. [	]θησ. [	]θησα[

The comparison of the transcriptions already reveals that, apart from fundamental differences,³⁵ the main problem of the identification of 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53 is to be found in l. 2: O'Callaghan does not read τῶι, but τῶν (with following η), which is indispensable for his reconstruction. However, as will be shown, there are further points of discussion, above all concerning palaeography, which are essential for an adequate evaluation of O'Callaghan's hypothesis.

O'Callaghan reconstructs 7Q5 as Mark 6:52–53 (with the help of the text printed in Nestle/Aland²⁷ in the left and stichometry in the right column):

³⁰ In Baillet/Milik/de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' (DJD III)*, 144. For l. 4 the comment there reads: "...trace anguleuse de *sigma*. ἐγέννησεν n'est qu'une suggestion." Despite the papyrological convention to write *sigma* in form of 'c', the readings are printed in the same way as they were originally published by their authors with the exception of Puech's (see n. 33).

³¹ Cf. Benoît, 'Note sur le fragment', 323 (ω as an alternative for ϙ in l. 3).

³² Cf. Pickering/Cook, *Has a Fragment*, 6.

³³ Cf. Puech, 'Des fragments grecs', 576. For the benefit of better comparability with all the other transcriptions Puech's is altered at two points: capital letters are turned into small ones and 'σ' is used for *sigma*, not 'c'. In original his reading is as follows:

]. (.) []?
]_c^γ τῶι Α[]Η_ο^ο
]Η ΚΑΙ τῶ[
]ΝΝΗ_c^ο
]ΘΗC_ο^ο

³⁴ Cf. O'Callaghan, 'Papiros neotestamentarios...', 97, but previously (96) without γ in l. 2:] υτῶνη[. See further Thiede, '7Q', 544; idem, *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift*, 35; idem, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript*, 69.

³⁵ The cited number of letters in Benoît's and Pickering's transcription is smaller than that in O'Callaghan's (and Thiede's), because the latter must try from the very beginning of his reasoning to make those letters plausible that are indispensable for his reconstruction.

Mark 6:52–54a nach NA ²⁷	line	7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53 ³⁶	
συνῆκαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρτοις, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ καρδία	1	συνῆκαν] ἐ[πὶ τοῖς ἄρτοις, ἀλλ' ἦν α]υτῶν ἡ [καρδία	20
πεπωρω- μένη. ⁵³ καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν	2	πεπωρω	23
γῆν	3	μέν]η καὶ τι[απεράσαντες	20
ἦλθον εἰς Γεννησαρὲτ καὶ	4	ἦλθον εἰς Γε]γνησ[αρὲτ καὶ	21
προσωρμίσθησαν. ⁵⁴ καὶ ἐξελ-	5	προσωρμίσ]θησα[ν καὶ ἐξελ	21

It becomes evident that the hypothetical identification can only be upheld on the presumption of four main³⁷ premises:

(1) The reading of ν in l. 2 must be tenable as far as palaeography is concerned.

(2) For l. 3 it must be postulated that there was originally a *παράγραφος* as an indication of the end of a passage and a paratactic new beginning with καί, which is typical of the Gospel of Mark.

(3) The spelling of *τια-* instead of *δια-* in the same line must be explained, for instance by pointing at a writing error or by verifying an orthographical shift from δ to τ (δ > τ) motivated by a sound change.

(4) For l. 3 the variant reading without ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (*lectio brevior*) is indispensable.

About (1)—Even if it is true that on many papyri one and the same letter is written in palaeographically different ways (even in close proximity; see, for instance, η in ll. 4 and 5), this does not really help for enlightening 7Q5,³⁸ for an actual connection between the left and a potentially right leg of the assumed ν in l. 2 cannot be determined.³⁹

³⁶ Cf. n. 34.

³⁷ For other details cf. the literature given in nn. 5, 7–8, 27–29. Further see the overview in Price, *Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 183–90.

³⁸ But see Hunger, '7Q5', 34–6. However, the examples given by Hunger have to be investigated on their own. See the profound criticism of Enste, 'Qumran-Fragment', 191–2, who detects "beim Übereinanderkopieren eine überraschend hohe Deckungsgleichheit" ('surprisingly close similarities while overwriting one letter with another [of the same kind]') of the letters preserved twice by 7Q5 (191), something that additionally becomes obvious by looking at the illustrations offered by Enste (194).

³⁹ Against Hunger, '7Q5', 37–8, and Thiede, 'Kriminaltechnische Untersuchung', 239–45. This is also evident on the enlargement of a detail of 7Q5 in Thiede's study (243). This enlargement contradicts Thiede's claim that with its help the "irrige[] Vermutung, hier etwaige Reste eines *alpha* zu sehen" ('false assumption to regard these remains as those of an *alpha*') has been refuted. His conclusion is nothing more than a mere postulation: "Durch die Entdeckung des diagonalen Striches ist die Möglichkeit eines *iota* nunmehr endgültig ausgeschlossen." ('The possibility to read an *iota* has

On the contrary, it is a diagonal upward stroke that begins with a small hook, so that the scribe started anew here.⁴⁰ ν is not palaeographically plausible and has to be rejected.⁴¹

About (2)—With respect to the widespread καί-parataxis, which is claimed to be characteristic of the Gospel of Mark and which should be indicated by a potential large gap (as a παράγραφος) before the only word that is completely preserved in 7Q5, it must be kept in mind that especially the Septuagint provides a large number of examples of that kind of construction (motivated by the *Waw-consecutivum* with clause opening and connecting γ). Consequently, the conclusion that this construction must refer to the Gospel of Mark is far from being cogent.⁴² Moreover, from a palaeographical view it must be pointed out that the dimension of the gap (and it does not matter if this gap is determined simply as blank space, as *spatium*, or as παράγραφος)⁴³ can only be determined by taking into account if two letters of average dimension (α , ω) are preserved or if one of the wider letters (κ , τ , η , ν) preserved on 7Q5 is presumed for the gap.⁴⁴

With the help of examples from 4Q it can be illustrated that the positivistic claim of a meaningful structural element that indicates the beginning of a new passage for 7Q5 is incongruous: 4Q126 (4QUnid gr) has spaces the width of a letter (depending on the presumed individual letter) in fragment 1, line 2, before καί, of half and of one fourth of

definitely been ruled out by the discovery of a diagonal stroke.') The faint and straight line that points diagonally downwards to the right, i.e. the traces of ink there, do not go far enough (it even has to be considered that the writing has become smudged here). Besides, the described procedure of photographing may rather encourage beholders to think of a shadow. In accordance with Enste, 'Qumran-Fragment', 192.

⁴⁰ The image offered in a popular scientific book by Carsten Peter Thiede and Matthew d'Ancona (*Der Jesus Papyrus*, 160–1; see Förster, 'Review of Thiede/d'Ancona, *Der Jesus Papyrus*', 230–2, and Grelot, 'Review of Thiede/Ancona, *Der Jesus Papyrus*', 589–96) is methodologically inaccurate (see Enste, 'Qumran-Fragment', 192–3). The letter ν is written in thick red strokes over the traces of ink in l. 2, so that the stroke upwards becomes steeper than it has originally been and the serif—on the image hardly visible—vanishes completely.

⁴¹ The question ν or ι with a clear preference of the latter and a rejection of the first is appropriately tackled by Enste, 'Qumran-Fragment', 189–94.

⁴² See Conybeare/Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, § 40 (50–1); Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, especially 12–33, 126–38, 148–50; Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 59 n. 17. See further Gesenius/Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 154 (505–7).

⁴³ Above all, see Rosenbaum, 'Cave 7Q5', 192–6 (if at all anything should be used to denominate the gap, it should be called *spatium*) and the response by Thiede, *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift*, 82–3.

⁴⁴ Cf. here also Puech, 'Des fragments grecs', 576 n. 27.

the width of a letter in fragment 2, l. 6, fragment 4, l. 3, and fragment 7, l. 2. In 4Q127 (4Qpap paraExod gr) there is also a space of about the width of a letter before καί in frg. 1, l. 5 and ll. 6–11, similarly in 4Q120 (4QpapLXXLev^b) in frg. 6, l. 12 (because of preceding Ιηω; cf. here frg. 20, l. 4, with spaces before and after Ιαω) and frg. 16, l. 3, (before καί, which is in between the two actions in Lev 4:10–11). In frg. 1, l. 21, of 4Q119 (4QLXXLev^a) a blank space of about three letters before ἐάν is left (in comparison with the other letters on the fragment), which can be clearly identified as a παράγραφος due to the horizontal line in the left margin between lines 21 and 22. This παράγραφος evidently manifests the new beginning with Deut 26:14. In sum, all of this proves that a left blank space of a particular width does not necessarily indicate a certain function, something that is true for a blank space before καί.

Frg. 1, l. 2, of 4Q122 (4QLXXDeut) preserves an unnecessary blank space in the middle of a word that cannot even be attributed to the condition of the writing material (ἐρυθράς as ερυ θρασ) and another, slightly wider one preceding the following proposition ἐπί, which again does not relate to the meaning of the passage or function as the beginning of a new passage (cf. Deut 11:4).⁴⁵ Although scribes may have worked in a very reliable way in those days, writing conventions are not fixed and axiomatic rules that have to be observed slavishly. Therefore, it remains questionable—and even more in regard to the limited number of letters preserved by 7Q5—to conclude from the left space in a papyrus that this must have an exclusive function, as has been done for 7Q5 with explicit certainty.

Furthermore, the case of papyrus fragments kept in the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna may help to illustrate the difficulties with reconstruction that are based on the specific interpretation of a left blank space: *PVindob.G* 25199 was identified and reconstructed as Ode 8 (= Dan 3:62–66) by Peter Sanz, which was absolutely justified and well argued for because of the position of the space at the right margin. The identification was indeed confirmed, when other papyrus fragments could be added (*PVindob.G* 41406 + 41407 + 41413 that form one single fragment thereafter); the reconstruction, however, was not. Sanz assumed that the line ended in l. 5

⁴⁵ On this see the relevant information (comments, transcriptions, and images) provided by Skehan/Ulrich/Sandersson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV* (DJD IX).

due to the *spatium* there, but after the new assignment the distribution of the lines had to be corrected.⁴⁶

About (3)—Even if in l. 3 $\tau\iota\alpha$ - instead of $\delta\iota\alpha$ - might have been possible due to a writing error or a sound change that affected the orthography⁴⁷ and potential examples of the latter case can be brought forward,⁴⁸ the form of the vertical stroke with its curve to the right after *tau* makes me skeptical about the reading of *iota*.⁴⁹ In addition, a methodological problem arises here: the presumption of a mistake or a sound change for a letter next to a hole and/or the broken-off margin of a papyrus—and this is the case in 7Q5 (even if an uncertain letter after the one under discussion may follow on the papyrus)—indicates the danger that such and similar conjectures could be used arbitrarily in order to prove a proposed reconstruction. There is a postulated (and accepted) rule in epigraphy and papyrology with the name ‘Lex Youtie’ to counsel caution and to guard against such a danger: *iuxta lacunam ne mutaveris*.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Of interest here are the editions by Peter Sanz (MPER N.S. IV 31) and Kurt Treu and Johannes Diethart (MPER N.S. XVII 7). An analogous case is *PVindob.G* 26041 that was published by Sanz as no. 28 in his dissertation (*Christliche Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek*) and reconstructed on the basis of the left half of the papyrus available then (even with meter). After Treu and Diethart could attach the right half of the papyrus to the left, the reconstruction could be corrected (MPER N.S. XVII 37). I got to know about these examples from Hans Förster, Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library, during a visit at the collection in Vienna. Thank you very much indeed, but not only for making these known to me.

⁴⁷ Cf. O’Callaghan, ‘El cambio $\delta < \tau$ ’, 415–6; Hunger, ‘7Q5’, 38 (*P.Bodm.* XXIV: Ps 17–118); Pickering/Cook, *Has a Fragment*, 12.

⁴⁸ However, that these can actually serve in a linguistic sense for making a sound change plausible in Palestine at that time remains very questionable, because such a sound change cannot be verified by proofs from Palestine itself. For background see Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 46; Mayer, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* I.1, § 33 (146–7); Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* I, 80–2. Further, see Boismard, ‘A Propos’, 586, for objections against O’Callaghan’s examples (‘El cambio $\delta < \tau$, 415–6). A reference to $\tau\rho\upsilon\phi\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\nu$ instead of $\delta\rho\upsilon\phi\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\nu$ in the warning inscription of Herod’s Temple in Jerusalem (Thiede, *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift*, 42, 74) is not sufficient here, particularly as there are still some problems unsolved in respect of this inscription. See in detail Boffo, *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, no. 32 (283–90).

⁴⁹ In accordance with Pickering/Cook, *Has a Fragment*, 12; Puech, ‘Des fragments grecs’, 574, 5786; Enste, ‘Qumran-Fragment’, 191 (image 3 illustrates clearly the different forms of the hooks). O’Callaghan, ‘ ζ Papiros neotestamentarios...’, 95, attributes the curve to the fibers of the papyrus.

⁵⁰ The rule is named after the papyrologist Herbert C. Youtie. Cf. Merkelbach, ‘Lex Youtie’, 294. But see Fassino, ‘Sulla cosiddetta ‘lex Youtie’’, 72–5, who correctly calls for exceptions of this rule (for example, for cases of certain itacism).

About (4)—In the discussion of 7Q5 much energy has been devoted to the omission of ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν in l. 3 that is essential for O'Callaghan's identification (with Mark 6:52–53). This is an issue that involves textual criticism of the New Testament. In consideration of the various writing errors and the varied singular and nonsense readings we come across in manuscripts, the omission of a prepositional phrase is not astonishing.⁵¹ Hence this issue is not pivotal for a palaeographical and, in the broader sense, papyrological evaluation of 7Q5,⁵² but in regard to the few letters and words (basically only καί) preserved it cannot entirely be disregarded.

So, palaeographical and even methodological objections cannot be dispelled the way it would be necessary or even mandatory in the course of a scholarly discussion of the identification of 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53. Thereby the reading of ν in l. 2 is palaeographically incomprehensible, and the assumption of τια- instead of δια- in l. 3 is phonologically and methodologically problematic. Further and based on the critical comments made earlier in this study, the postulated παράγραφος for l. 3 and the reference to Mark are not logical and consequent conclusions drawn from observations made of the papyrus fragment.

2.2 *Two other proposals for identifying the text (Maria Vittoria Spottorno)*

Maria Vittoria Spottorno herself puts forward methodical premises for her own proposals and consistently sticks to them in the course of discussion of 7Q5. In principle, these premises are as follows: nobody

⁵¹ See here Colwell/Tune, 'Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings', 96–105; Colwell, 'Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits', 108–10; Junack, 'Abschreib-praktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten', 277–97; Head, 'Observations on Early Papyri', 240–7; idem/Warren, 'Re-inking the Pen', 466–73; Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 186–200, 295–6. Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* 15.14) and Jerome (*Ad Lucinum* [Epistula LXXI] 5) complain about the unreliability of some scribes and copyists.

⁵² In accordance with Pickering/Cook, *Has a Fragment*, 14; Backhaus, 'Qumran und die Urchristen', 365; Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 70. In this respect also Thiede, '7Q', 549–52, 557, whereas his conclusions are text-critically dubious. The discussion is mostly about the question whether διαπεράω can be used without any statement of place or direction, such as in *PBeatty* II (P⁴⁵ according to Gregory-Aland) and in the old Latin manuscripts [(c) f] for Mark 5:21 and Matt 9:1 (but in the latter the prepositional phrase refers to both verbs, διαπεράω and ἔρχομαι, because of linking καί between them). The problems of the versions was picked out as a central theme by Martini, 'Note', 101–4, who focuses on the Saïdic and Bohairic transmission. About translation techniques and the relationships between texts in *8Hev1* (= *8HevXII gr*) see the comments in DJD VIII, 98–158, and in principle about the difficulties of every inter-linguistic comparison Kraus, 'Der Artikel im Griechischen', 264–7.

can assert claims to deal solely with one hypothesis; a hypothesis as such must be open for critical inquiries, additions, and alternative hypotheses; a hypothesis is never more than a suggestion and is valid for the time being.⁵³

2.2.1 7Q5 = Zech 7:3c–5

transcription ⁵⁴	line	7Q5 = Zech 7:3c–5 ⁵⁵	
]η[	1	νὰ ἔτ]η [καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κοῦ πρός	27
]εγων[	2	με λ]εγων [εἶπε πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τῆς	30
]ς καιπ[	3	γῆ]ς καὶ π[ρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῆς γῆς λέ-	28
]νησ[	4	γων ἐὰ]γ νησ[τεύσητε ἡ κόψεσθε ἐν τῷ	28
]ωην[	5	πέμπτ]ω ἡ εγ[τῷ ἐβδόμῳ καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐβδο-	28
<i>Zech 7:3c–5—Göttingen⁵⁶</i>			
	1	νὰ ἔτ]η ⁴ καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρός	
	2	με λέγων ⁵ Εἰπὸν πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τῆς	
	3	γῆς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς λέ-	
	4	γων Ἐάν νηστεύσητε ἡ κόψησθε ἐν ταῖς	
	5	πέμπταις ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐβδο-	

The reconstruction requires the following presumptions:

(1) For the reconstruction some textual variants are obligatory: (i) imperative εἶπε instead of εἰπὸν (Zech 7:5 or l. 2), (ii) the second usage of τῆς γῆς (7:5 or l. 3, after ἱερεῖς), and (iii) dative singular instead of plural (7:5 or ll. 4–5).

(2) For l. 1 a short form is given in the reconstructed part of the text (κοῦ).⁵⁷

⁵³ Cf. Spottorno, ‘Can Methodological Limits’, especially 66–8, 70–2, 77.

⁵⁴ Spottorno, ‘Can Methodological Limits’, 72. The first version of this proposal consisting of six transcribed lines was as follows: l. 1]τ[; l. 2]εγωνε[; l. 3]ς καιπ[; l. 4]γνησ[; l. 5]ωην[; l. 6]ε[. Cf. idem, ‘Una nueva posible identificación’, 543; idem, ‘Pequeños fragmentos’, 337.

⁵⁵ This is the revised and stichometrically corrected version from Spottorno, ‘Can Methodological Limits’, 72. Spottorno weighs up three possible systems of letter distribution.

⁵⁶ This is the edition of Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, ad loc. In contrast, see the edition of Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* I, ad loc, with a different text for Zech 7:4: (l. 1), λόγος κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς, 7:5 (l. 2) πρὸς ἅπαντα and punctuation (full stop) between 7:3 and 7:4.

⁵⁷ It has become conventional among papyrologists to write the shortened (contracted) form κο(ρ)ί)υ (instead of the letters with supralinear strokes) and to refer to the supralinear strokes in the annotation section.

(3) The reconstruction of Zech 7:3c–5 presented above requires the reading of the letters η (l. 1), ε, γ, and ν (l. 2), c (*sigma*) and π (l. 3), and ω and ν (l. 5).

(4) The blank space preceding καί must be explained in respect of Zech 7:5.

About (1)—As delineated earlier and in light of the numerous possibilities and cases, textual variants are nothing in particular. Spottorno's proposal is further based on concrete manuscripts and traditions, so that it does not contain any singular readings: (i) εἶπε A 534 L C' –538 68 239 Tht., (ii) τῆς γῆς (after ἱερεῖς) Q, and (iii) τῷ...τῷ...L' –770^c Tht. = M.⁵⁸ Thereby it is not a counterargument to claim that this proposed reconstruction does not correspond with any known recension. There is categorically no manuscript that represents *one* particular recension.⁵⁹ Besides, the variants, justified by the aforesaid, result in a sensible context.⁶⁰

About (2)—At first glance, the shortening of κυρίου to κοῦ appears not to be formally in conflict with the reconstruction, because that is not dependent on it. Granted that the use of *nomina sacra* in manuscripts indicates Christian authorship,⁶¹ this short form holds a serious problem and requires a detailed explanation. It would be less controversial to introduce the full form κυρίου into the reconstruction, particularly as it would even help to improve the stichometry (29/30/28/28/28).

About (3)—The remains of letters in ll. 1–3 and 5 allow the reading of η, ε, c, and ω.⁶² However, γ in l. 2 instead of the usually suggested

⁵⁸ According to Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, ad loc.

⁵⁹ Cf. Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 73 n. 29 against O'Callaghan, *Los primeros testimonios*, 114; Thiede, 'Greek Qumran Fragment 7Q5', 397–8.

⁶⁰ The critical apparatus in Ziegler's edition (*Duodecim prophetae*, ad loc) and the context of the passage itself confute Thiede's assertions ('Greek Qumran Fragment 7Q5', 397–8: "However, the singular variants in Mark make sense and could even be expected, as has been shown more than once, whereas Spottorno's variants stem from an extreme and philologically unjustifiable eclecticism. Thus, she does not even try to find reasons for them."). It remains mysterious why Rohrhirsch ('Zur Relevanz', 93) once cites the textual witnesses mentioned in Ziegler's apparatus [for (i) and (iii)], but next time he does not [for (ii)].

⁶¹ The relevant literature is presented by Hurtado, 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra', 655–73. Further, see the fine reflections by Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 119–25.

⁶² Cf. Baillet/Milik/de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'* (DJD III), 144 on l. 1: "trace de epsilon, theta, omicron ou sigma." See here Benoît, Pickering, and Puech (see notes 31–33), who leave the reading of this passage open. Puech takes θ or c into account and O'Callaghan (see n. 34) ν, i.e. a rounded letter, which can be similarly estimated for ε. In contrast, c in l. 3 provides some difficulties (elsewhere printed as η or by Puech as η), but the

tau is problematic. Manuscripts from Qumran often have the hook of τ pointing to the left,⁶³ so that upholders of the papyrus fragment 7Q5 may feel inclined to think of *tau* here, too. If *gamma* and *tau* in l. 2 of 7Q5 are compared to a similar letter in l. 3 (mainly identified as τ), additional difficulties arise, which Spottorno seeks to overcome by reading π there. Nevertheless, this π causes the same objections as γ (the unusualness of the letter formation): γ would have a horizontal line that projects far to the left, though γ formed that way is not a unique case⁶⁴ and π would possess a strikingly long right leg.⁶⁵ When it comes to ν in l. 2 see my objections above (section 2.1).

About (4)—Corresponding to the reflections already put forth on O’Callaghan’s identification, the presumption of $\kappa\acute{\iota}$ -parataxis in l. 2 and the examples discussed above the gap before $\kappa\acute{\iota}$ can be explained here only by pointing at the possibilities that this may be the start of a new verse, a break, or the product of the scribe’s concept. Unfortunately, the fragment does not offer enough material to decide on these (or other) alternatives.⁶⁶

remains remain debatable. Reading ω in l. 5 seems to be compatible with the traces left there (Puech ϵ , Baillet and Bosimard [DJD III] ϵ , O’Callaghan θ). Cautiously Spottorno first suggests ς (‘Una nueva posible identificación’, 543; ‘Pequeños fragmentos’, 337), but later definitely reads ς (‘Can Methodological Limits’, 72).

⁶³ See, for instance, 4Q120 (4QpapLXXLev^b), 4Q121 (4QLXXNum), 4Q122 (4QLXX-Deut), and 4Q127 (4Qpap paraExod gr). In contrast, the fragments of 4Q126 (4QUnid gr) have *tau* with short vertical lines that are prolonged to the left and to the right over its base and an occasionally slightly rolling horizontal line (especially fragments 2, l. 6; 4/5, ll. 2–3; 6, l. 4).

⁶⁴ Interesting are the examples given by Spottorno, ‘Can Methodological Limits’, 73 n. 33 (and more often): POxy. XXIV 2399 (1st century B.C.E.) has such a γ in col. 1.21 (but only the first γ in $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ conforms to that description). However, the evidence provided by this example is not that convincing, because instances of the γ of the papyrus are written irregularly (see col. 2.11— $\phi\upsilon\gamma\alpha\delta\omega\nu$: with a hook at the leg and a horizontal line that hardly projects to the left in relation to the vertical line; col. 3.23— $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$: the second γ consists of a straight vertical line without any hook and of a horizontal line that starts to the right from the top of the vertical). The case of POxy. IV 659 (1st century C.E.) is similar, as it has γ in col. 3.7 ($\gamma\lambda\omega\kappa\kappa\alpha\iota$) with a rolling horizontal line that evidently projects to the left and in col. 3.10 (Αγαρικλει) with a hook at the leg and a horizontal line that starts at the top of the vertical one. In addition to the *editio princeps* of each papyrus see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, nos. 21 and 55.

⁶⁵ The possibility of π is also discussed by Aland, ‘Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III’, 73–5.

⁶⁶ Cf. Spottorno, ‘Una nueva posible identificación’, 543; idem, ‘Pequeños fragmentos’, 338–9. Additional attempts at explaining the gag in idem, ‘Can Methodological Limits’, 74.

As far as palaeography is concerned, still problematic are the readings of γ in l. 2 and π in l. 3. However, ν in l. 2 must be rejected (see above, relating to O'Callaghan). The reading of the other letters seems to be as acceptable as the possibilities discussed for the blank space preceding καί in l. 3, although one can be referred to the comments already made.

2.2.2 7Q5 = *grEnoch* 15:9d–10

Reading	line	7Q5 = <i>grEnoch</i> 15:9d–10	
]θ[	1	κλη]θ[ήσεται πνεύματα οὐρανοῦ	25
]ν τωι α[	2	ἐ]ν τῶι ἄ[νωτέρῳ ⁶⁷ ἡ κάθῃσις αὐτῶν ἔσ-	28
]ι και π[	3	τα]ι και π[νεύματα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	23
]ννηθ[	4	τὰ γε]ννηθ[έντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ	22
]θησι[	5	κά]θησι[ς αὐτῶν ἔσται. και τά	22
<i>grEnoch</i> 15:9d–10—Black ⁶⁸			
		^{9d} πνεύματα πονηρὰ	
	1	κληθήσεται. ¹⁰ πνεύματα οὐρανοῦ,	
	2	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν ἔσ-	
	3	ται και τὰ πνεύματα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	
	4	τὰ γεννηθέντα, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ	
	5	κατοίκησις αὐτῶν ἔσται. ¹¹ και τά	

For this identification some premises are necessary:

(1) In l. 3 the omission of the article τά must be acceptable from a linguistic point of view.

(2) L. 2 has ἀνώτερον instead of οὐρανῷ in order to adjust the text somehow to the letter traces and to avoid the reading of a palaeographically problematic *omicron*.

(3) Ll. 4–5 contain the otherwise unattested variant κάθῃσις.

(4) The reading of π in l. 3 and of κ and ι in l. 5 must be explicable palaeographically.

⁶⁷ This is the reconstruction presented by Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 77, where she writes ἄ[νωτέρῳ, which must read ἔ[νωτέρῳ (cf. correctly on the previous page [76]).

⁶⁸ The text is given according to the so-called Gizeh-Fragment (fourth century C.E.). Although Georgius Syncellus (died around 810) has this passage in his free translation but only in a heavily shortened version. The text is cited from the edition of Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 30 (about the Greek text, cf. 7–9).

About (1)—The presumption of the omission of an article (*omit τὸ*) as a variant causes some grammatical problems (so that the article is not used before *πνεύματα*, but then is used preceding the attributive participle *γεννηθέντα*), but the reference to the various practices of individual scribes and the complexity and the linguistic-historical change of the Greek article may be sufficient to justify such a presumption *par excellence*.⁶⁹ In other respects, one can be referred here to the comments concerning this matter on the two identification proposals dealt with so far (above all, on the acceptance of variant readings).

About (2)—The letter rests in l. 2 are palaeographically irreconcilable with an *omicron*, so that the hypothetical assumption of *ἀνωτέρω* necessitates an *alpha*.⁷⁰ The diagonal upward line to the right that has a small hook can support the reading of an *alpha*. Moreover, *ἄωρεος* is used twice in *grEnoch* (14:17 and 15:9),⁷¹ in particular briefly previous to 15:10, what might have influenced its use in 15:9; but this remains mere speculation. Nevertheless, *ἀνώτερος* comes into question at least as a potential variant here, also as far as its meaning is concerned.

About (3)—If *κατοίκησις* (Gizeh-Fragment) were accepted for ll. 4–5, the result would be that *κ*, which cannot palaeographically be justified, was at the left margin of the fragment. This predicament is avoided by suggesting *θ* for the reconstruction *κάθισις* in l. 5, which appears to be acceptable due to the bulge of *θ* and the traces left. Be that as it may, the presumption of *κάθισις* (a nominalization of *κάθιμαι*) is nowhere attested for the apocryphal literature.⁷² Philologically speaking, the nominalization does not provide any difficulties, particularly as *κατοίκησις* ('dwelling', 'settling in a place') is rendered semantically equal as *κάθισις* ('place to sit down/to reside').

About (4)—The objections against potential *π* in l. 3 have already been stated while discussing 7Q5 = Zech 7:3c–5. It is admissible to read *sigma* (c) in l. 5 according to the preserved letter remains of a bulge

⁶⁹ See, for example, the (non)usage of the article in *PBodm.* VIII (P⁷²) in the text of 1–2Peter and Jude. Further, cf. Kraus, 'Der Artikel im Griechischen', 260–72.

⁷⁰ As in the transcription of Boismard, Pickering, and Puech (see notes 30, 32, and 33).

⁷¹ Cf. Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 76.

⁷² Spottorno's reference to its usage twice in Jeremiah does not work here, because Jer 30:2 and 30:25 have *βαθύνετε εἰς κάθισις*, what is not an equivalent to potential *κάθισις* in *grEnoch* 15:10 (as far as word formation and its usage in this context are concerned).

that is open to the right.⁷³ The reading of a subsequent *iota* depends on the usual form of *iota* in 7Q5, so that *iota* in τωι in l. 2 and καί in l. 3 can be compared with the letter traces left in l. 5. Nonetheless, the difficulty still persists to bring the slight bulge (that is open to the right) of the vertical line at the left margin of the fragment in l. 3 and the rounded line at the right margin in l. 5 in accordance with the straight line of the *iota* in καί in l. 3.

All in all, the poor manuscript attestation of *grEnoch* can serve as a background against which the integration and justification of the suggested variants may sound reasonable. This is cleverly utilized by Maria Vittoria Spottorno, who reasonably adapted the variants and justified them by pointing at scribes' individual practice of writing (see above about making use of textual variants). However, the reading of *iota* in ll. 3 and 5 and especially of π in l. 3 are palaeographically problematic, so that the readings of these letter traces of 7Q5 must be left open.

3. On 'Identifying' 7Q5—Assessment and Prospect

Given the objections and demurrals, expressed above all the proposals currently and seriously discussed for identifying 7Q5 with a known text are problematic. Only presuming textual changes and peculiar readings results in the transcriptions and reconstructions discussed earlier in this study. Textual variants are hardly decisive for or against a proposal, as I have repeatedly emphasized above, on the grounds of the mistakes and changes made in the process of writing by scribes themselves, of a sensible integration into the context, and of the sometimes extraordinary attestation of a text (above all, in respect of *grEnoch*). Nevertheless, the case of 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53 is particularly complex, because the other writings found in the caves around Qumran do not form the appropriate milieu to place this fragment into.⁷⁴ In contrast, the hypothesis 7Q5 = *grEnoch* 15:9d–10 can be based on other fragments from 7Q that have been identified as passages from *grEnoch*,⁷⁵ additionally even on the general (Aramaic) attestation of *Enoch* in Qumran as a concrete

⁷³ Cf. the readings by Boismard (DJD III, 144): “*epsilon* ou *sigma* (le trait median n'est pas certain)”, Puech (cf. n. 33), and O'Callaghan (cf. n. 34).

⁷⁴ Needless to say, the places and the circumstances of a discovery and all the other fragments found there and nearby have to be considered. In principle, from a papyrological view Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 42–53.

⁷⁵ Cf. the literature cited in n. 12.

background.⁷⁶ Analogously the hypothesis $7Q5 = \text{Zech } 7:3c-5$ can benefit from an embedding into an appropriate textual milieu within the writings from Qumran.⁷⁷ Be that as it may, the salient point of all these proposals for identifying the text of $7Q5$ is that the letter remains of the fragment can hardly be reconciled with the letters mandatory for each hypothesis.⁷⁸

Despite these objections all the proposals discussed here maintain their hypothetical character. It does not make any difference whether an identification proposal chronologically preceded others or not.⁷⁹ Dealing with papyri and similar items may not happen according to the two antipodes of verification and falsification, but permanently demands corrections, improvements, enhancements, and argumentative exchange.⁸⁰ In addition, these proposals do not constitute all the possibilities imaginable. Only a small part of the original total quantity of papyri is preserved today. Thus, literary works that are lost for the present may be discussed for $7Q5$ and other unidentified or, as far as their identification is concerned, not sufficiently argued for papyri (cf., for instance, the references to dramas that are not preserved for the present time in Aristotle's *Περὶ ποιητικῆς*). We may even think of some documents or letters written in upright and mostly unconnected majus-

⁷⁶ On the significance and the coverage of the *Enoch* literature in the texts from Qumran see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*; idem, 'Écrits préesséniens', 91–106; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte* I, 225–8; idem, *Die aramäischen Texte* II, 117–8; García Martínez, 'Qumran Origins', 113–36; Flint, 'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings', 41–5; Collins, 'Apocalypticism and Literary Genre', 404–5, 406–8.

⁷⁷ Passages from Zech are found in $4Q76$ ($4QXII^a$) frg. 1, $4Q80$ ($4QXII^b$) frgs. 3–17 (DJD XV), and various references to Zech. See the passages given by Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener* III, 175–6. Further, from the geographical region nearby see *8HewXII gr* (cols. 28–31 and cols. B1–2).

⁷⁸ Especially v (l. 2), I (l. 3) for $7Q5 = \text{Mark } 6:52-53$, γ and v (l. 2), π (l. 3) for $7Q5 = \text{Zech } 7:3c-5$, and ι and π (l. 3), ι (l. 5) for $7Q5 = \text{grEnoch } 15:9d-10$.

⁷⁹ By postulating that only a "Falsifizierung durch intersubjektiv ausweisbare Kriterien" ('falsification by means of inter-subjectively presentable criteria') is possible (Rohrhirsch, 'Kleine Fragmente', 82), the hypothesis brought forward first ($7Q5 = \text{Mark } 6:52-53$) automatically has a predominance over the other alternatives to follow and critical inquiries about its relativization are limited in the first place. This is also the criticism given by Backhaus, 'Qumran und die Urchristen', 365–6.

⁸⁰ It seems to be questionable how palaeographical arguments are weighed up, when Popper's principle of fallibilism is taken up by Ferdinand Rohrhirsch, according to which a hypothesis should have a "größeres Erklärungspotential" ('greater potential of explanation'; Rohrhirsch, 'Zur Relevanz', 95) and could only be falsified by another hypothesis that possesses a higher grade of plausibility. However, neither 'verification' nor 'falsification' are adequate poles in palaeography and papyrology that can be beneficial for the examination and improvement of hypothetical proposals.

cules.⁸¹ Even if these ways might not lead anywhere in respect to an identification of the text itself and its complete reconstruction (cf., for example, the official letter *PCair.* 10740 in CPR XVIIA 37, which, as regards content, cannot be reconstructed anymore, or *P.Vindob.G* 13993 in CPR XVIIA appendix 'a', a letter of which only the beginning has survived), they must be considered in the discussion. At the beginning of this paragraph it was mentioned that the hypothetical character of all proposals and possibilities that, after weighing their pros and cons, must be regarded as being on the same level for a subsequent discussion; and this is considered as the maxim for dealing with this or any comparable fragment from Qumran and elsewhere.⁸²

Addenda

Having corrected all the typographical shortcomings (for instance, missing underdots in transcriptions or spelling mistakes in the Greek texts) and some syntactically weird constructions in the original German version of the present study, I pass over these faults here in silence and do not list them in detail.

It is more significant and, above all, my sincere desire to honor two esteemed scholars who played crucial parts in the discussion of 7Q5; and here I stick to the Latin saying *De mortuis nil (= nihil) nisi bene!* (Cheilon of Sparta, according to Diogenes Laertius 1.3.70), interpreted in the sense that you should be silent, if you cannot report anything positive about a deceased person,⁸³ and I do not keep silent and I write two short obituaries so that this unveils my respect for and expresses my tribute to two honorable scholars.

⁸¹ This possibility is also mentioned by Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 70.

⁸² Cf. Pickering, 'Looking for Mark's Gospel', 94–8. Methodologically correct Spottorno, 'Can Methodological Limits', 77: "It is possible that 7Q5 is neither part of Zach. 7:3c–5 nor of Enoch 15:9d–10, but can it be said that it is part of Mark 6:52–53 without doubt? Certainly not. Historical evidence together with the concrete and measurable witnesses at our disposal should set the limits..."

⁸³ Of course, the proverb can be understood in an alternative way: you may criticize the deceased, but only in a fair way, as they cannot defend themselves anymore. In legal contexts this saying was sometimes turned upside down so that it was not regarded as a crime to defame a deceased person, but usually it conveys the taboo to criticize someone who has just died.

On December 15, 2001, Father José O'Callaghan (born October 7, 1922) died in the Jesuit infirmary at San Cugat del Valles in Barcelona, Spain. From 1971 until his retirement in 1992 he taught papyrology at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. Father O'Callaghan has made pivotal contributions to the study of antiquity by editing papyri, systematizing *nomina sacra*,⁸⁴ and motivating the scholarly world to discuss a small papyrus fragment methodologically and in detail. He always put forward his proposals with respect for contradicting views and was interested in academic and sound discussions.⁸⁵

All of a sudden, the literature specialist and historian Carsten Peter Thiede died of a cardiac failure on December 14, 2004. Thiede held a professorship in Basel, Switzerland, and a university teaching position at the Ben-Gurion University (Negev, Beer-Sheva). Besides numerous publications on the identification proposal originally made by José O'Callaghan (7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53), which he himself championed heavily, his works include monographs about New Testament papyri, the apostle Peter, hidden messages in the Bible, and the historical Jesus. His endurance resulted in a whole list of interesting publications and his persistence initiated other scholars to consider seriously and methodologically adequately the hypothesis 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53.⁸⁶

The literature about 7Q5 is legion; it was so before the time of writing this study, and has been up to the present. There are some many articles that I missed for the present study that it did not make any sense to attempt at being comprehensive and to integrate all studies ever written about the subject (above all, as the hypotheses and arguments in favor of or against are repetitive and occasionally redundant) and it does not make now any sense to give a report on the studies being

⁸⁴ O'Callaghan, '«Nominum sacrorum»', 99–122; idem, «*Nomina sacra*». On *nomina sacra* see now Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 95–134 (and on the staurogram, 135–54), although his hypotheses for the origins of the *nomina sacra* (and the staurogram) may be problematic. Further, for the magical papyri, see Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 124 n. 568: "The relationship, if any, between the *nomina sacra* and the practice of placing a line over the *names* of gods in magical texts has never been satisfactorily investigated."

⁸⁵ For a longer obituary, see that by Juan Chapa made in the course of the General Assembly of the *Association Internationale de Papyrologues* (AIP) in Helsinki (August 7, 2004; <http://www.ulb.ac.be/assoc/aip/ocallaghan.htm>; last access 10/10/2006).

⁸⁶ The AIP will pay homage to Carsten Peter Thiede during the next General Assembly (see the announcement on <http://www.ulb.ac.be/assoc/aip/necrologies.htm>; last access 10/10/2006) in the course of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology (July 29–August 4, 2007) at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (<http://www.lib.umich.edu/pap/ICP25/index.html>; last access 10/10/2006).

published since then. However, there are some studies I got to know which are of interest, because they illustrate some points made above more explicitly: In 1995 Moises Mayordomo attempted to evaluate in a methodologically sound and neutral way the hypotheses in favor of identifying 7Q5 and those against doing so.⁸⁷ The article provides an interesting overview and is of interest as it was published in a journal that primarily addresses Protestants in Spain among whom some scholars eagerly championed O'Callaghan's proposal.⁸⁸ Moreover, he sent me some interesting mind games how to identify 7Q5 with the help of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG).⁸⁹ One year later, in 1996 Ramón Puig Massana published a piece of work on 7Q5 and probability calculus that supports the hypothesis 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53.⁹⁰ However, I do not regard probability and fallibilism as adequate and appropriate categories to judge ancient manuscripts.⁹¹

More influential of the previously mentioned studies was Robert H. Gundry's refutation of the reading of v in l. 2, published in *Journal of Biblical Literature* in 1999, which unfortunately was not out at the time my own study was printed.⁹² Gundry relies on his own assessment of 7Q5 approved of by other experts such as Stephan Pfann and James Monson and provides high-quality pictures and detailed enlargements of the papyrus fragments. His conclusion sounds like a requiem: "Perhaps the identification of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53 can now rest in peace without suffering exhumation. Regrets."⁹³ A year later a monographic treatment of O'Callaghan's proposal championed by Thiede was published by Stefan Enste, who comprehensibly dedicates some 140 pages to the reasoning of O'Callaghan and above all Thiede.⁹⁴ Finally, he concludes: "Das Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung ist eindeutig: Das Fragment 7Q5 enthält keinen Text aus dem Markusevangelium."⁹⁵—'The conclusion

⁸⁷ Cf. Mayordomo, '7Q5', 17–34.

⁸⁸ I am very much indebted to Moises Mayordomo for his willingness of sharing his work on 7Q5 and his thoughts about the hypotheses brought forward.

⁸⁹ He checked over 40 test cases, of which some passages from the Septuagint and from some classic authors appear to be interesting. But the hypothesis 7Q5 = 2 Macc 8:3–4 seems to be the most promising of them.

⁹⁰ Cf. Puig Massana, 'Acerca de una reciente publicacion', 51–9.

⁹¹ See above, my notes 79 and 80.

⁹² Cf. Gundry, 'No NU', 698–707.

⁹³ Gundry, 'No NU', 707.

⁹⁴ Cf. Enste, *Kein Markustext*.

⁹⁵ Enste, *Kein Markustext*, 143. See also Enste's Internet presentation of the case (<http://www.stefan-enste.de/TheologieText.htm>; last access 12/10/2006).

of this examination [of 7Q5] is non-ambiguous: the fragment 7Q5 does not contain any text from the Gospel of Mark.’

However, Enste seemed to foresee that neither his work nor Gundry’s (which at the time of finishing his book he could not be aware of) would terminate the debate over 7Q5, especially the propagation of the identification 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53.⁹⁶ His sensation of things to come became reality soon: Karl Jaroš ran a computer test for the papyrus fragments from 7Q, which was published in 2004 but basically finished in 1999/2000, so that the study was outdated (see, in addition to my own study, Gundry’s and Enste’s mentioned above).⁹⁷ Since then Jaroš seems to be convinced that 7Q5 is a witness to the New Testament so that he lists it among the generally accepted manuscripts attesting the canonical writings of the New Testament.⁹⁸ Rocco Scibona has repeatedly focused on statistics and probability calculus to enforce the hypothesis 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53;⁹⁹ but again I must point to my objections against such an approach.¹⁰⁰

Motivated by a review of Stefan Enste’s monograph on the hypothesis 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53 written by Karl Jaroš and published in 2001,¹⁰¹ Hans Förster (Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna) felt compelled to provide some fundamental considerations and to correct some inaccuracies and even mistakes that have evolved over the years of discussing 7Q5. In his article from 2002/2003,¹⁰² Förster succeeds in exposing the shortcomings in Jaroš’s argumentation and in providing a full-scale assessment of the Coptic versions of the crucial prepositional phrase ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.¹⁰³ Further, Förster’s reflections on the potential sound change of δ to τ and on Jaroš’s inadequate comparison the cases of 7Q5 and *PVindob.G* 42417 help to examine the hypothesis 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53 even more critically.

⁹⁶ See Enste, *Kein Markustext*, 143.

⁹⁷ Cf. Jaroš, ‘Die Qumranfragmente’, 147–68.

⁹⁸ See recently Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament*.

⁹⁹ Most recently, Scibona, ‘7Q5 e il “calcolo delle probabilità”’, 133–81; idem, ‘7Q5—O’Callaghan’, 163–86.

¹⁰⁰ See above, my notes 79 and 80.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Jaroš, ‘Review of Stefan Enste, *Kein Markustext*’, 378–84.

¹⁰² Cf. Förster, ‘7Q5’, 197–208.

¹⁰³ Cf. Förster, ‘7Q5’, 200–4. Förster is the first scholar who presents *and* discusses the Saïdic and Bohairic sources for Mark 6:53 in a methodologically appropriate manner.

In a subsequent study, Förster addresses the identification hypothesis from a text-critical perspective.¹⁰⁴ After some preliminary remarks on how to publish a papyrus and what consequences the discovery of a fragment with verses from the Gospel of Mark in a cave around Qumran might have for New Testament textual criticism, Förster gets to talking about ‘identifying 7Q5’ and the problems involved by doing so.¹⁰⁵ Again and in brief, he summarizes his methodological objections against the identification of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53 (as stated in his previous study) and finally comments:¹⁰⁶

As to the question of why another identification of this passage has not been put forward, over the years there have been quite a few proposals, in fact, that were ‘disproven’ as ‘highly speculative’ by Thiede and others. This article has attempted to show that the alleged identification of 7Q5 as a text of Mark’s Gospel is even more speculative than many others, albeit supported by well-meaning believers.

In a monograph published in 2001, Carsten Peter Thiede rejected the identification of fragments from 7Q as being parts of *grEnoch*.¹⁰⁷ This is of particular interest here, as it affects sections of my own article presented in English translation above, Spottorno’s proposals for identifying 7Q5, and the general milieu this small scrap of papyrus is set in (the fragments of 7Q). Apart from the articles on the relationship between 7Q and *grEnoch*,¹⁰⁸ Ernest Muro offers some basic thoughts on his Internet pages accompanied by useful images. Again Muro refers to the fibers of the papyrus fragments that may fit together,¹⁰⁹ what he did analogously for 7Q5, too, with the help of interesting computer diagrams and photographs.¹¹⁰ In the latter, Muro reflects upon the introductory phrases of the description of the papyrus fragment in the *editio princeps* as follows: “Papyrus fin, très abîmé, et disloqué à droite.”¹¹¹—‘A fine papyrus, very much damaged, and displaced at the right.’ The question

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Förster, ‘7Q5 = Mark 6.52–53’, 27–35.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Förster, ‘7Q5 = Mark 6.52–53’, 31–5.

¹⁰⁶ Förster, ‘7Q5 = Mark 6.52–53’, 35. Förster is correct in emphasizing that the discussion of 7Q5 has rather turned into a matter of belief and dogmatic argumentation than keeping to the factual physical condition and the letters and letter traces preserved on the fragment (and the circumstances of its discovery).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Thiede, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*.

¹⁰⁸ See Nebe, ‘7Q4’, 629–33; Muro, ‘The Greek Fragments’, 307–12; Puech, ‘Sept fragments grecs’, 313–23.

¹⁰⁹ See, Muro, ‘My Refutation’.

¹¹⁰ See Muro, ‘7Q5: “Disloqué à droite”’.

¹¹¹ Baillet/Milik/de Vaux, *Les ‘Petites Grottes’* (DJD III), 144.

that arises from Muro's observations of the physical condition of the papyrus scrap, mind games, and conjectures is whether they lead to any new reading and basically anything at all.¹¹² Be that as it may, Muro is right in calling for a mandatory re-examination of the fragment itself previous to any discussion of the letters potentially present on the papyrus.

Bibliography

- Aejmelaeus, A., *Parataxis in the Septuagint. A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (AASEB 31; Helsinki: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, 1982).
- Aland, K., 'Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III', *NTS* 20 (1974) 358–76.
- , 'Über die Möglichkeit der Identifikation kleiner Fragmente neutestamentlicher Handschriften mit Hilfe des Computers', in: J.K. Elliott (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (In Honour of G.D. Kilpatrick; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 14–38.
- Backhaus, K., 'Qumran und die Urchristen. Zu einem neueren Diskussionsbeitrag', *ThGl* 83 (1993) 364–8.
- Baillet, M., 'Les manuscrits de la Grotte 7 de Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament', *Bib.* 53 (1972) 508–16.
- , 'Les manuscrits de la Grotte 7 de Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament (Tabula extra seriem)', *Bib.* 54 (1973) 340–50.
- / Milik, J.T./de Vaux, R., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran. Exploration de falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre. 2 vols.: Textes et planches* (DJD III,; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- Benoît, P., 'Note sur les fragments grecs de la grotte 7 de Qumran', *RB* 79 (1972) 321–4.
- , 'Nouvelle note sur les fragments grecs de la grotte 7 de Qumran', *RB* 79 (1973) 5–12.
- Bernardi, J., 'L'évangile de Saint Marc et la grotte 7 de Qumrân', *ETR* 47 (1972) 453–6.
- Beyer, K., *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer I–II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984; ³1994).
- Black, M., *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970).
- Boffo, L., *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della bibbia* (Biblioteca di storia e storiografia dei tempi biblici 9; Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1994).
- Boismard, M.-É., 'À Propos de 7Q5 et Mc 6,52–53', *RB* 102 (1995) 585–88.
- Brunelli, L., 'Ein Indiz aus der Geschichte', *30Tage* 7/8 (1994) 52–3.
- Choat, M., *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Studia Antiqua Australiensia [SAA] 1; Turnhout: Prepols, 2006).
- Collins, J.J., 'Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in: Flint/Vanderkam, *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* II, 403–30.

¹¹² For line 2 Muro suggests reading τ or π with following ο or ω for the last letter traces at the right and for l. 3 τω or το. At the right-hand end of l. 2 he sees a curve that might be ω or ο. However, these suggestions are very hypothetical and merely speculative, as Muro himself asserts on his webpage.

- Colwell, E.C., 'Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits. A Study of \mathfrak{P}^{45} , \mathfrak{P}^{66} , \mathfrak{P}^{73} ', in: Colwell, *Studies*, 106–24.
- /Tune, E.W., 'Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings', in: Colwell, *Studies*, 96–105.
- , *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1969).
- Conybeare, F.C./Stock, G.S., *Grammar of Septuagint Greek. With Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1905 [repr.: Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988]).
- De La Potterie, I., 'Eine unerwartete Bestätigung', *30Tage* 7 (1994) 58–9.
- Duodecim prophetae. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum XIII* (ed. J. Ziegler; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1984).
- Ekschmitt, W., *Ugarit-Qumran-Nag Hammadi. Die großen Schriftfunde zur Bibel* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 1993).
- Enste, S., 'Qumran-Fragment 7Q5 ist nicht Markus 6,52–53', *ΣPE* 126 (1999) 189–94.
- , *Kein Markustext in Qumran. Eine Untersuchung der These: Qumran-Fragment 7Q5 = Mk 6,52–53* (NTOA 45; Freiburg-Göttingen: Universitätsverlag-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).
- Estrada, D./White, W., *The First New Testament* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1978).
- Estrada, D.M., 'On the Latest Identifications of New Testament Documents', *WThJ* 34 (1971/72) 109–17.
- Fassino, M., 'Sulla cosiddetta "lex Youtie"', *RFIC* 126 (1998) 72–5.
- Fee, G.F., 'Some dissenting notes on 7Q5 = Mark 6:52–53', *JBL* 92 (1973) 109–12.
- Flint, P.W., 'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha' in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in: idem/Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* II, 24–66.
- /Vanderkam, J.C. (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment. Vol. II* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1999).
- Focant, C., '7Q5 = Mk 6,52–53: A Questionable and Questioning Identification', in: Mayer, *Christen und Christliches*, 11–25.
- , 'Un fragment du second évangile à Qumrân: 7Q5 = Mc 6,52–53?', *RTL* 16 (1985) 447–54.
- Förster, H., '7Q5 = Mark 6.52–53: A Challenge for Textual Criticism?', *JGRChJ* 2 (2001–2005) (<http://divinity.mcmaster.ca/jgrchj/home>; last access 12/10/2006; see pp. 27–35 of the print version).
- , '7Q5—Und was?', *AnalPap* 15–15 (2002–2003) 197–208.
- , 'Review of Thiede/D'Ancona, *Der Jesus Papyrus*', *Biblos* 46 (1997) 230–2.
- Gallo, I., *Greek and Latin Papyrology* (Classical Handbook 1; London: Univ. of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1986).
- García Martínez, F., 'Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groingen Hypothesis', *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988) 113–36.
- Garnet, P., 'O'Callaghan's Fragments: Our Earliest New Testament Texts?', *EvQ* 45 (1973) 6–12.
- Gesenius, W./Kautzsch, E., *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, ²⁸1909).
- Gignac, F.T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Vol. I: Phonology* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 55; Mailand: Cisalpina, 1976).
- Grelot, P., 'Jésus et ses témoins', *RSR* 84 (1996) 412–23.
- , 'Note sur les propositions du Pr Carsten Peter Thiede', *RB* 102 (1995) 589–91.
- , 'Review of Thiede/D'Ancona, *Der Jesus Papyrus*', *RB* 105 (1998) 589–96.
- Gundry, R.H., *Mark. A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993).
- , 'No NU in line 2 of 7Q5: A Final Disidentification of 7Q5 with Mark 6:52–53', *JBL* 118 (1999) 698–707.

- Head, P.M., 'Observations on Early Papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, Especially on the "Scribal Habits"', *Bib* 71 (1990) 240–47.
- /Warren, M., 'Re-inking the Pen: Evidence from P.Oxy 657 (P¹³) Concerning Unintentional Scribal Errors', *NTS* 43 (1997) 466–73.
- Hemer, C.J., '7Q5: A Correction', *StudPap* 16 (1977) 39–40.
- , 'A Note on 7Q5', *ZNW* 65 (1974) 155–7.
- Hunger, H., '7Q5: Markus 6,52–53—oder? Die Meinung des Papyrologen', in: Mayer, *Christen und Christliches*, 33–56.
- Hurtado, L.W., *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).
- , 'The Origin of the Nomina Sacra: A Proposal', *JBL* 117 (1998) 655–73.
- Jaroš, K., (ed.) *Das Neue Testament nach den ältesten griechischen Handschriften* (CD-ROM; Rühpolding-Mainz and Wien-Würzburg: Verlag Philipp Rutzen-Echter, 2006).
- , 'Die Qumranfragmente der Höhle 7 (7Q) im Computertest', *Aeg* 80 (2000) 147–68.
- , 'Review of Stefan Enste, *Kein Markustext*', *WZKM* 91 (2001) 378–84.
- Junack, K., 'Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textüberlieferung', in: E.J. Epp/G.D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis* (Essays in Honour of B.M. Metzger; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) 277–97.
- Kraus, T.J., "'Slow writers'—βραδέως γράφοντες: what, how much, and how did they write?", *Ex* 97 (1999) 86–97.
- , 'Der Artikel im Griechischen: Nutzen einer systematischen Beschäftigung anhand von ausgewählten Syntagmata (Hab 1,12; Jud 17; Joh 6, 32)', *RB* 106 (1999) 260–72.
- Maier, J., *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer. Vol. I* (UTB 1862; München-Basel: Ernst Reinhardt, 1995).
- , *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer. Vol. III* (UTB 1916; Munich-Basel: Ernst Reinhardt, 1996).
- Martini, C.M., 'Note sui papiri della grotta 7 di Qumrân', *Bib* 53 (1972) 101–4.
- , 'Testi neotestamentari tra i manoscritti del deserto di Giuda?', *CivCatt* 123 (1972) 156–8.
- Mayer, B. (ed.), *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* (EST.NS 32; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1992).
- Mayser, E., *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit. Bd. I: Laut- und Wortlehre, 1. Teil: Einleitung und Lautlehre*. Bearb. v. H. Schmoll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, ²1970).
- Mayordomo, M., '7Q5: ¿Un fragmento del evangelio de Marcos en Qumrân?', in: *Alêtheia: Revista Evangélica de Teología* 8/2 (1995) 17–34.
- Merkelbach, R., 'Lex Youtie', *ZPE* 38 (1980) 294.
- Metzger, B.M., *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, ³1992).
- Milik, J.T., 'Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à 'Amram', in: M. Delcor (ed.), *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (BETHL 46; Paris-Gemboux-Leuven: Duculot, 1978).
- , *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
- Montevocchi, O., *La papirologia* (Manuali Universitari 1; Mailand: Vita e pensiero, ²1988).
- Muro, E.A., "7Q5: 'Disloqué à droite'. Key to the Controversy" (<http://www.breadofangels.com>; last access 14/10/2006).
- , 'My Refutation of Carsten Peter Thiede's Rejection of the 7Q^{Enoch} Identification by way of an analysis of the arguments put forth by Thiede in his book: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Origins of Christianity*' (<http://www.breadofangels.com> 'Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7'; last access 14/10/2006).

- , 'The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7 (7Q4, 7Q8, & 7Q12 = 7QEn gr = Enoch 103:3–4, 7–8)', *RdQ* 18 (1998) 307–12.
- Nebe, G.W., '7Q4 Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation', *RdQ* 13 (1988) 629–33.
- O'Callaghan, J., '¿1 Tim 3,16; 4,1.3 en 7Q4?', *Bib.* 53 (1972) 362–7.
- , '¿El texto de 7Q5 es Tuc. I 41,2?', *StudPap* 13 (1974) 125.
- , '¿Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumrán?', *Bib.* 53 (1972) 91–100 [English translation in *JBL* 91 (1972) 1–14].
- , 'El cambio αι > η en Chester Beatty XII', *Bib.* 60 (1979) 567–9.
- , 'El cambio δ < τ en los papiros biblicos', *Bib.* 54 (1973) 415–6.
- , 'El ordenador, 7Q5 y Homero', *StudPap* 12 (1973) 73–9.
- , 'El ordenador, 7Q5 y los autores griegos (Apolonio de Rodas, Aristóteles, Lisias)', *StudPap* 13 (1974) 21–30.
- , 'La Biblia y los papiros', in: *Unidad y pluralidad en el Mundo Antiguo. Actas des VI Congreso Español de Estudios Clasicos, I Ponencias* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983).
- , 'Les Papyrus de la grotte 7 de Qumrán', *NRTh* 95 (1973) 188–95.
- , *Los Papiros Griegos de la Cueva 7 de Qumrán* (BAC; Madrid: BAC, 1974).
- , *Los primeros testimonios del Nuevo Testamento: Introducción a la Papirología neotestamentaria* (Serie en los orígenes del cristianismo 7; Córdoba-Madrid: Ediciones El Almendro de Córdoba, S.L., 1995).
- , 'Nomina sacra' in papyris graecis saeculi III neotestamentariis (AnBib 46; Rome: Biblical Inst. Press, 1970).
- , 'Nominum sacrorum' elenchus in Graecis Novi Testamenti papyris a saeculo IV ad VIII', *StudPap* 10 (1971) 99–122.
- , 'Nota sobre 7Q4 y 7Q5', *StudPap* 13 (1974) 61–3.
- , 'Notas sobre 7Q tomadas en el 'Rockefeller Museum' de Jerusalén', *Bib.* 53 (1972) 519–21.
- , 'Nuevas consideraciones', *StudPap* 16 (1977) 41–7.
- , 'Sobre el papiro de Marcos en Qumrán', *FilNeot* 5 (1992) 191–7.
- , 'Sobre la identificación de 7Q4', *StudPap* 13 (1974) 45–55.
- , 'The Identifications of 7Q', *Aeg.* 76 (1976) 287–94.
- , 'Tres probables papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumran', *StudPap* 1 (1972) 83–9.
- , '¿Un fragmento del Evangelico de San Marcos en el papiros de la cueva 7 de Qumran?', *Arbor* 81 (1972) 429–31.
- , 'Verso le origini del Nuovo Testamento', *CivCatt* 139,4 (1988) 269–72.
- Paci, S.M., 'Nicht später als 50', *30Tage* 7/8 (1994) 53–5.
- , 'Ohne Vorurteile weiterforschen', *30Tage* 7/8 (1994) 55–7.
- Parker, P., '7Q5. Enhält das Papyrusfragment 5 aus der Höhle 7 von Qumrán einen Markustext?', *EuA* 48 (1972) 467–9.
- Parsons, P.J., 'The Scripts and Their Date', in: E. Tov (ed.), *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD VIII; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Pickering, S.R., 'Looking for Mark's Gospel among the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Continuing Problem of Qumran Fragment 7Q5', *NTTRU* 2 (1994) 94–8.
- , 'Palaeographical Details of the Qumran Fragment 7Q5', in: Mayer, Christen und Christliches, 27–31.
- /Cook, R.R.E., *Has a Fragment of the Gospel of Mark Been Found at Qumran?* (Papyrology and Historical Perspectives 1; Sydney: Ancient History Document Research, 1989).
- Pickering, W.N., *The Identity of the New Testament* (Nashville-New York: Thomas Nelson Publ., 21980).
- Puech, É., 'Des fragments grecs de la Grotte 7 et le Nouveau Testament? 7Q4 et 7Q5, et le papyrus Magdalen Grec 17 = P⁶⁴', *RB* 102 (1995), 571–7.

- , 'Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = 1Hénoch 103 et 105', *RB* 103 (1996) 592–600.
- , 'Sept fragments grecs de la Lettre d'Hénoch (1 Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (= 7QHéng)', *RdQ* 18 (1998) 313–23.
- Puig Massana, R., 'Acerca de una reciente publicacion de José O'Callaghan sobre Los Papiros de la Cueva 7 de Qumran', *FilNeot* 9 (1996) 51–9.
- Radermacher, L., *Neutestamentliche Grammatik des Griechischen des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache* (HNT 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ²1925).
- Rahlfs, A., *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graeca iuxta LXX interpretes. Vol. I* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ⁸1965).
- Riesenfeld, H., 'Neues Licht auf die Entstehung der Evangelien. Handschriften vom Toten Meer und andere Indizien', in: Mayer, *Christen und Christliches*, 177–94.
- Roberts, C.H., 'On some presupposed papyrus fragments of the New Testament from Qumran', *JThS* 23 (1972) 446–7.
- Rohrhirsch, F., 'Das Qumranfragment 7Q5', *NT* 30 (1988) 97–9.
- , 'Kleine Fragmente im Lichte des Popperschen Fallibilismusprinzips. Ein Vergleich von 7Q5 und P⁷³ unter dem Aspekt der recto-verso Beschriftung', in: Mayer, *Christen und Christliches*, 73–82.
- , 'Zur Relevanz wissenschaftstheoretischer Implikationen in der Diskussion um das Qumranfragment 7Q5 und zu einem neuen Identifizierungsvorschlag von 7Q5 mit Zacharias 7,4–5', *ThGl* 85 (1995) 80–95.
- , *Markus in Qumran? Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Argumenten für und gegen das Fragment 7Q5 mit Hilfe des methodischen Fallibilismusprinzips* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1990).
- Rosenbaum, H.-U., 'Cave 7Q5! Gegen die erneute Inanspruchnahme des Qumran-Fragments 7Q5 als Bruchstück der ältesten Evangelien-Handschrift', *BZ* 31 (1987) 189–205.
- Sabourin, L., 'A Fragment of Mark in Qumrân?', *BTB* 2 (1972) 311.
- Sanz, P., *Christliche Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek zu Wien* (unpublished Diss.; Vienna 1936).
- Schubart, W., *Palaeographie. Erster Teil: Griechische Palaeographie* (HAW 1.4.1; Munich: Beck, 1925 [repr. 1966]).
- Scibona, R., '7Q5 e il 'calcolo delle probabilita' nella sua identificazione', *BeO* 43/209 (2001) 133–81.
- , '7Q5—O'Callaghan: Formule simboliche, numerali, e analogie', *BeO* 46/221 (2004) 163–86.
- Skehan, P.W./Ulrich, E./Sanderson, E.J., *Qumran Cave 4. IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (With a contribution by P.J. Parson; DJD IX; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Spottorno, M.V., 'Can Methodological Limits be set in the Debate on the Identification of 7Q5?', *DSD* 6 (1999) 66–77.
- , 'Nota sobre los papiros de la cueva 7 de Qumrân', *EstB* 15 (1972) 261–3.
- , 'Pequeños fragmentos de la cueva 7 de Qumrân', in: J.R. Martínez et al. (eds.), *IV Simposio bíblico español (I ibero-americano). Biblia y culturas* (Valencia-Granada: Univ. de Granada, 1993), 333–9.
- , 'Una nueva posible identificación de 7Q5', *Sefarad* 52 (1992) 541–3.
- Stanton, G., *Gospel Truth? New Lights on Jesus and the Gospels* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995).
- Thiede, C.P., '7Q—Eine Rückkehr zu den neutestamentlichen Papyrusfragmenten in der siebten Höhle von Qumran', *Bib* 65 (1984) 538–59.
- , '7Q5—Facts or Fiction?', *WThJ* 57 (1995) 471–4.
- , *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift? Ein Qumran-Fragment wird entschlüsselt* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, ⁴1994).
- , 'Greek Qumran Fragment 7Q5: Possibilities and Impossibilities', *Bib* 75 (1994) 394–8.

- , 'Kriminaltechnische Untersuchung des Fragments 7Q5 in Jerusalem', in: Mayer, *Christen und Christliches*, 239–45.
- , 'Neues zum Markusfragment 7Q5', *ibw journal* 27 (8/1989) 18–20.
- , 'Neutestamentliche Papyrologie: Die ersten Handschriften, ihre Datierung und Bewertung', *ibw journal* 23 (10/1985) 112–9.
- , 'Papyrologische Anfragen an 7Q5 im Umfeld antiker Handschriften', in: Mayer, *Christen und Christliches*, 57–72.
- , *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Origins of Christianity* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
- , *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript? The Qumran Papyrus 7Q5 and its Significance for New Testament Studies* (Torquay-Guernsey: The Paternoster Press, 1992).
- /D'Ancona, M., *Der Jesus-Papyrus. Die Entdeckung einer Evangelien-Handschrift aus der Zeit der Augenzeugen* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1996 [engl.: *Eyewitness to Jesus* (New York: Doubleday, 1996)]).
- Tov, E., 'A List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert', in: Flint/Vanderkam, *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years II*, 669–717.
- Turner, E.G., *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (ed. P.J. Parsons; BICS.S 46; London: Institute of Classical Studies, ²1987).
- , *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ²1980; repr. 1998).
- Urbán, A.C., 'Observaciones sobre ciertos papiros de la cueva 7 de Qumran', *RdQ* 8 (1973) 233–51.
- Vardaman, J., 'The Earliest Fragments of the New Testament', *ET* 83 (1972) 374–6.
- Vernet, J.M., 'Si riafferma il papiro 7Q5 come Mc 6,52–53?', *RivBib* 46 (1998) 42–60.
- White, W., 'O'Callaghan's Identifications: Confirmation and Its Consequences', *WThJ* 35 (1972) 12.
- Wischmeyer, W., 'Zu den neuen Frühdatierungen von Carsten Peter Thiede', *ζAC/ῙAC* 1 (1997) 280–90.

INDEX OF ANCIENT TEXTS

Old Testament (Septuagint)

<i>Exodus</i>			<i>Psalms</i>	
36:10–11	233		33	34 n. 45
			34	34 n. 45
<i>Leviticus</i>			90	17, 22, 54, 59, 60
19:28	154		91	61
<i>2 Kingdoms</i>			<i>Odes</i>	
4:12–5:1	233		8	239
5:13–14	233			
<i>Esther</i>			<i>Proverbs</i>	
6:1	154		30:31	78
<i>Tobit</i>			<i>Sirach</i>	
3:8	216		30:2	216
<i>1 Maccabees</i>			<i>Zechariah</i>	
5:20	154		7:3c–5	234, 242–4, 246, 247, 248 n. 78, 249 n. 82
<i>2 Maccabees</i>			13:7	90
4:36	151		<i>Isaiah</i>	
8:3–4	251 n. 89		29:11–12	153, 162
<i>3 Maccabees</i>			<i>Daniel</i>	
5:23	78		3:62–66	239

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		<i>Mark</i>	
1:2–3	233	4:28	233
6:9–13	61	5:21	241 n. 52
6:10	54	6:2	176
9:1	244 n. 52	6:48	233
13:54, 56	176	6:52–53	143, 234–7, 241, 247, 248 n. 78, 249 n. 82, 250–3
14:26–28	90 n. 92		
25:35	30	8:3–4	233
25:41–26:39	27	12:12	233
25:46–26:18	41	14:28	90
26:1	29	14:30	78
26:5–6	29	14:68	78
26:6	29	14:72	78
26:34	78		
26:74	78	<i>Luke</i>	
26:75	78	3:19–20	233

4:16	175	14:23–24	152
10:17	32 n. 39, 39	16:21	213
14:27	31		
16:6–7	154	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
22:34	78	3:6–7	154, 174
22:60	78	11:16	151
22:61	78		
23:38	174	<i>Galatians</i>	
		6:11	213
<i>John</i>			
1:5–6	54–55	<i>Colossians</i>	
3:7	178	2:14	221
4:27	178, 179	4:18	213
5:20, 28	178, 179		
5:47	154, 174	<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	
7:1	175		
7:10	177	<i>2 Thessalonians</i>	
7:13	178	1:9	214
7:14	175	3:17	213
7:15	154, 166, 171–82		
7:16	175	<i>1 Timothy</i>	
7:20	174	3:16	233
7:21	178, 179	4:1, 3	233
7:35	174		
8:22	174	<i>2 Timothy</i>	
8:48	174	3:15	154, 175
8:52	174	3:16	175
10:20	174		
10:25	31 n. 37	<i>Philemon</i>	
11:27	31 n. 37	1	219
18:20	178	7	219, 223
		9	216
<i>Acts</i>		11	224
2:1–13	162	13	216
4:1–22	163	15	224
4:13	149–67	17	218
4:13–16	165 n. 57	17–20	209, 219, 221, 223
4:5–6	161	18	215–6, 218, 221
4:15	161	18–19	222, 223
16:18	32, 85	19	207–26
26:24–25	154	20	222, 223
27:38	233		
28:21	154	<i>Hebrews</i>	
		2:9–11	83
<i>Romans</i>		3:3–6	83
1:2	154	11:22–23	233
2:27, 29	154		
5:11–12	233	<i>James</i>	
7:6	154	1:23–24	233
<i>1 Corinthians</i>			
2:1–16	162	<i>1 Peter</i>	
14:16	151	3:11–14	233

2 <i>Peter</i>		<i>Revelation</i>	
1:15	233	1:5	32, 85
		13:14	32 n. 39
<i>Ancient Christian and Jewish authors and texts, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, et al.</i>			
<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	88	Jerome	
Augustine		<i>ep.</i> 5.2	192–3
<i>civ.</i> 22.5	161	<i>ep.</i> 71.5	241 n. 51
<i>conf.</i> 6.3.3–4	194 n. 50	<i>Rufin.</i> 1.9	193
<i>Barnabas</i>		John Chrysostom	
9:7–8	32 n. 39	<i>hom.</i> 29.2	98 n. 8
<i>Book of Jubilees</i>	186, 187, 188, 195–7, 199	John Philoponus	
		<i>Procl.</i> 125.15–16	101
<i>Didascalia Apostolorum</i>		Josephus	
1.2.1.2	122, 158, 178	<i>Ant.</i> 1.13	175
		<i>Ant.</i> 10.210	175
		<i>C. Ap.</i> 1.54	175
Epiphanius of Salamis		<i>Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla</i>	
<i>haer.</i> 39.6.1	188	<i>mir.</i> 45	181, 182
<i>haer.</i> 39.6.5–6	188	<i>Life of Mani</i>	58
Eusebius		Origen	
<i>hist. eccl.</i> 6.31	189	<i>Cels.</i> 1.27	157
4 <i>Ezra</i>	187, 195–7	<i>Cels.</i> 1.62	162 n. 51
15.57–59	198	<i>comm. in Matt.</i> 15.14	241 n. 51
<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	81, 82–83, 86, 87, 102 n. 16	Philo	
<i>Greek Enoch</i>	233, 243, 245–7, 253	<i>Her.</i> 106	175
14:17	246	<i>Legat.</i> 195	175
15:9	246	<i>Mos.</i> 2.290	175
15:9d–10	234, 248 n. 78, 249 n. 82	<i>Mos.</i> 2.292	175
Gregory of Nyssa		<i>Praem.</i> 79	175
<i>Apoll.</i> 144.14–15	100–1	Sextus Julius Africanus	
		<i>Chronographiae</i>	189
Hippolytus		<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
<i>haer.</i> 9.11	162 n. 50	13:2	154
Iustinianus		<i>Testament of Ruben</i>	
<i>Nov.</i> 73.8	120, 133	4:1	154
		Tertullian	
		<i>test. anim.</i> 1	162 n. 50

Ancient Classical Authors and Texts

Aristides 35.9.20	108 n. 3	Cicero	
Aristophanes		<i>Ad Att.</i> 2.20.6	192
<i>Nu.</i> 961	107	<i>Ad Att.</i> 16.5.5	192
Aristotle		<i>Ad Quint.</i> 3.4.5	192
<i>Poet.</i> (Περὶ ποιητικῆς)	248	<i>Ad Quint.</i> 3.5.1–3.6.6	192
<i>Pol.</i> 7.17.1–15	107	<i>De orat.</i> 3.37–53	157

Demosthenes	191	Plutarch	
Diogenes Laertius 1.3.70	249	<i>Apophthegmata Reg. et Imp.</i>	
		186A	160
Epictetus 4.1.33–40	218	Ps.-Melampous	
		<i>Palm.</i> (Περὶ παλμοῦ μαντικῆ)	50
Homer		Quintilian	
<i>Il.</i>	233	<i>Inst.</i> 1.2	108
<i>Od.</i>	233	<i>Inst.</i> 1.4.1	108
Isocrates		<i>Inst.</i> 8.1.1–3	157
<i>Pan.</i>	95–96		
<i>Paneg.</i> 51	107	Sueton	
Julius Paulus		<i>Aug.</i> 84–89	108
(Ps.-Paulus?) <i>Sent.</i> 2.31.33	218	<i>Domit.</i> 4	108 n. 3
Maximus Tyrus 8.7h	104	Thucydides 1.41.2	233
Menancer 5 (II,1)	108	Ulpian	
Pindar		<i>Dig.</i> 11.4.1.5	224
<i>Nem.</i> 7.73	160	<i>Dig.</i> 21.1.17.14	224
Plato		<i>Dig.</i> 50.17–32	217
<i>Phdx.</i> 107d	107	<i>Vita Aesopi G</i>	180–1
<i>Lg.</i> 788a	107	(w) 25	180
<i>Lg.</i> 804d	107	(w) 37	180–181
<i>Gorg.</i> 507–508	139		
<i>Tim.</i> 23b	160		

MANUSCRIPTS (PAPYRI, OSTRACA, TABLETS *ET AL.*)

<i>4Q119</i>	239	<i>Codex Sinaiticus</i>	34
<i>4Q120</i>	239, 244 n. 63	<i>Codex Vaticanus</i>	34
<i>4Q121</i>	244 n. 63	<i>Mani-Codex</i>	5, 58
<i>4Q122</i>	239, 244 n. 63	MPER N.S. XVII 10 (see <i>PVindob.G</i> 25831)	
<i>4Q126</i>	238, 239, 44 n. 63	<i>Museo Archeologico inv.</i> 7134 (Florence)	98
<i>4Q127</i>	239, 244 n. 63	<i>O.Vindob.KO</i> 243	191
<i>4Q165</i>	76 n. 35	<i>O.Vindob.KO</i> 368	191
<i>7Q1</i>	232	<i>O.Vindob.KO</i> 430	191
<i>7Q2</i>	232	<i>O.Vindob.KO</i> 470	202
<i>7Q4</i>	232, 233	<i>O.Vindob.KO</i> 610	192
<i>7Q4-7</i>	232	<i>O.Vindob.KO</i> 676	202
<i>7Q5</i>	9, 83-84 n. 61, 141-3, 144, 231-54	<i>O.Vindob.KO</i> 679	202
		<i>PAmh.</i> I 82	156 n. 28
<i>7Q6</i>	233	<i>PAmh.</i> II 3 (P ¹²)	16
<i>7Q7</i>	233	<i>PAnt.</i> I 83	51 n. 21
<i>7Q8</i>	233	<i>PAnt.</i> I 84	58
<i>7Q9</i>	233	<i>PAnt.</i> II 54	54, 56, 61
<i>7Q9-10</i>	232	<i>PBarc.inv.</i> 83 (P ⁸⁰)	15-16
<i>7Q10</i>	233	<i>PBeatty</i> I (P ⁴⁵)	26, 32, 33, 35, 39-40,
<i>7Q15</i>	232, 233		49, 241 n. 52
<i>7Q19</i>	232	<i>PBeatty</i> II (P ⁴⁶)	33
<i>8Hev1</i>	241 n. 52, 248 n. 77	<i>PBeatty</i> III (P ⁴⁷)	35
	76 n. 33	<i>PBeatty</i> IV	35
<i>11QPs^a</i>	and n. 35	<i>PBeatty</i> V	34
		<i>PBerol.</i> 11914 (P ⁶³)	15
<i>B.M. Add. MS. 34186 (I)</i>	140	<i>PBerol.</i> 13271 (0165)	16-17
<i>BGU</i> I 255	96	<i>PBerol.</i> 21849	
<i>BKT</i> V 6.8	58	(= <i>SB</i> XII 11084)	191, 194
<i>Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f.</i> 4 [P]	56	<i>PBodl.</i> I 1	58
<i>Bodl. MS. Gr. th. g.</i> 11 [P]		<i>PBodl.</i> I 49	198 n. 59
(see <i>POxy.</i> V 840)		<i>PBodm.</i> II (P ⁶⁶)	30, 33
<i>Bodl. MS. Gr. th. g.</i> 2 [2]	6	<i>PBodm.</i> VII/VIII (P ⁷²)	33, 246
<i>Bodl. MS. Gr. th. g.</i> 4 [P]	6		n. 69
<i>Brit. Lib. Cod. Cotton</i>		<i>PBodm.</i> XIV/XV (P ⁷⁵)	30, 33, 39
<i>Otho B.</i> VI	56	<i>PBodm.</i> XVII (P ⁷⁴)	16
		<i>PCair.</i> 10740	249
<i>Chester Beatty Gospel Codex</i>		<i>PCair.</i> 10759	
(see <i>PBeatty</i> I)		(= <i>Akhmîm-Codex</i>)	87
<i>Codex Alexandrinus</i>	34	<i>PCair.Masp.</i> 67055v	15
<i>Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis</i>	165-166	<i>PCair.Žen.</i> 59588	201
<i>Codex Claromontanus</i>	209	<i>PCarls.</i> III 21	201
		<i>PColon.inv.</i> 1473	202

<i>PColon.inv.</i> 6211		<i>POxy.</i> XXXIII 2673	114 n. 25, 126, 178
(see <i>P.Turner</i> 22)			
<i>PDuk.inv.</i> 778	54, 61	<i>POxy.</i> XXXIV 2684 (P ⁷⁸)	15
<i>PEgerton</i> 2 (= <i>PLond.Christ</i>		<i>POxy.</i> XXXVIII 2836	212, 220
1; see <i>PKöln</i> VI 255)	39 n. 59	<i>POxy.</i> XLI 2696	112, 171
<i>PFay.</i> 104	194 n. 48	<i>POxy.</i> LXIII 4365	185–202
<i>PFloz.</i> III 382	153 n. 17	<i>POxy.</i> LXIII 4366	187
<i>PFloz.</i> III 389	51	<i>POxy.</i> LXIV 4006 (P ¹⁰⁵)	15
<i>PHerm.</i> 5	139, 140	<i>POxy.</i> LXV 4442	34 n. 44
<i>PKell.Gr.</i> 91	56	<i>POxy.</i> LXVI 4500	58
<i>PKöln</i> VI 255		<i>PPetaus</i> 11	126, 144, 158 n. 34
(see <i>PEgerton</i> 2)	39 n. 59		118 n. 39, 125, 158 n. 34
<i>PLeid.Inst.</i> 13 (see <i>PLudg.Bat.</i>		<i>PPetaus</i> 31	118 n. 40, 125, 131 n. 2, 158 n. 34
XXV 13)			
<i>PLond.</i> I 43	156 n. 28	<i>PPetaus</i> 47	119 n. 42 118, 125, 126, 132 n. 3, 144, 158 n. 34 192, 198
<i>PLond.Christ</i> 1 (see <i>PEgerton</i> 2)			
<i>PLudg.Bat.</i> XXV 13			
(= <i>PLeid.Inst.</i> 13)	187		
<i>PMich.</i> IX 554	133 n. 8	<i>PPetaus</i> 115	119 n. 42
<i>PMon.Eph.</i> II 583 (P ⁴⁴)	15	<i>PPetaus</i> 121	118, 125, 126, 132 n. 3, 144, 158 n. 34 192, 198
<i>PMonac.</i> 9 (= <i>PMünch.</i> I 9)	96 n. 5		
<i>PNess.</i> II 3 (= <i>PColt</i> 3; P ⁵⁹)	15		
<i>PNess.</i> II 4 (= <i>PColt</i> 4; P ⁶⁰)	15		
<i>POslo.inv.</i> 1644	54		
<i>POslo.inv.</i> 1661 (P ⁶²)	15	<i>PPrag</i> I 87	
<i>POxy.</i> I 2 (P ²)	33	<i>PPrag.Gr.</i> III 636 +	
<i>POxy.</i> I 71	111, 172	Gr. IV 15	6 n. 18
<i>POxy.</i> II 209 (P ¹⁰)	16	<i>PRain.Cent.</i> 24	3 n. 5
<i>POxy.</i> II 210	39 n. 59	<i>PRyl.</i> I 28	50, 54
<i>POxy.</i> III 402 (P ⁹)	33	<i>PRyl.</i> I 3	54, 57
<i>POxy.</i> III 454	139, 140	<i>PRyl.</i> II 160	115
<i>POxy.</i> III 496	217	<i>PRyl.</i> III 457	15
<i>POxy.</i> IV 656	35	<i>PRyl.</i> III 464	39, 85
<i>POxy.</i> IV 659	244 n. 64	<i>PSarga</i> 62 (P ⁴³)	15
<i>POxy.</i> V 840 (= <i>Bodl. MS.</i>		<i>PTebt.</i> II 291	156 n. 28
<i>Gr. th. g.</i> 11 [P])	13–14, 17–18, 20–21, 47–64	<i>PTebt.</i> II 316	117 n. 36
		<i>PTurner</i> 22	
<i>POxy.</i> V 842	50	(= <i>PColon.inv.</i> 6211)	213
<i>POxy.</i> V 843	50	<i>PVars.</i> 5	189
<i>POxy.</i> VI 911	112, 171	<i>PVat.Gr.</i> 11	50
<i>POxy.</i> VII 1008 (P ¹⁵)	33	<i>PVindob.G</i> 3	138–139
<i>POxy.</i> VII 1010	187, 198	<i>PVindob.G</i> 2004	
<i>POxy.</i> VIII 1079 (P ¹⁸)	39 n. 59, 71 n. 8	(= <i>Stud.Pal.</i> XX 4)	52, 77–78
	39 n. 59, 86 n. 73	<i>PVindob.G</i> 2320	
		(= <i>Stud.Pal.</i> IX 1)	35
<i>POxy.</i> X 1224		<i>PVindob.G</i> 2323 (P ⁵)	15
		<i>PVindob.G</i> 2325	3, 32 n. 39, 52, 69–91 249
<i>POxy.</i> XI 1352	51, 63		
<i>POxy.</i> XIII 1596 (P ²⁸)	33	<i>PVindob.G</i> 13993	
<i>POxy.</i> XIII 1597 (P ²⁹)	33	<i>PVindob.G</i> 25199	
<i>POxy.</i> XIII 1598 (P ³⁰)	33	(+41406+41407 +41413)	142, 145, 239
<i>POxy.</i> XVIII 2192	191, 201	<i>PVindob.G</i> 25831 (= <i>MPER</i>	
<i>POxy.</i> XXIV 2399	244 n. 64	N.S. XVII 10)	54, 56

<i>PVindob.G</i> 25949	15	<i>PTale</i> I 3 (P ⁵⁶)	15
<i>PVindob.G</i> 26015	202	<i>PSI</i> I 15	51 n. 21
<i>PVindob.G</i> 26041	145, 240 n. 46	<i>PSI</i> VI 716	117 n. 36
		<i>PSI</i> VI 719	54
<i>PVindob.G</i> 26132a (see <i>PVindob.G</i> 35835)		<i>PSI</i> X 1171	51, 63
<i>PVindob.G</i> 26132b	15, 98 n. 8, 103	<i>SB</i> I 5117	155 n. 26
<i>PVindob.G</i> 26214 (P ⁵⁵)	15	<i>SB</i> XII 11084 (see <i>P.Berol.</i> 21849)	
<i>PVindob.G</i> 27290A	3 n. 5	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> IX 1	
<i>PVindob.G</i> 31974	25–41, 49, 85	(see <i>PVindob.G</i> 2320)	
<i>PVindob.G</i> 35835 (former <i>PVindob.G</i> 26132a)	3, 9, 15, 95–105	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> X 253	192
		<i>Stud.Pal.</i> XI 114	3 n. 7
<i>PVindob.G</i> 39756	3, 56	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> XX 1	211
<i>PVindob.G</i> 39777	3	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> XX 4 (see <i>PVindob.G</i> 2004)	
<i>PVindob.G</i> 42417	69 n. 2, 83–85, 252		

INDEX OF (SELECTED) MODERN AUTHORS

- Aland, B. 40
 Aland, K. 1, 15, 86
 Amphoux, C.-B. 1
 Arzt-Grabner, P. 38, 208, 220–2, 224
- Bagnall, R.S. 125–6, 200
 Barrett, D.A. 38
 Bellen, H. 225
 Benoît, P. 235, 236
 Bernhard, A. 61, 86, 89
 Bickell, G. 73–75, 79–81, 90
 Boismard, M.-É. 236
 Bovon, F. 61
 Bremmer, J.N. 59, 61
 Bultmann, R. 173
 Burfeind, C. 39
- Casson, L. 201
 Clarysse, W. 57 n. 57, 64
 Comfort, P.W. 38
 Cribiore, R. 61, 200
- Deissmann, G.A. 207
 Diethart, J. 145
 Dostálová, R. 198
- Elliott, J.K. 61, 91
 Enste, S. 251–2
 Epp, E.J. 126, 198–9
- Finegan, J. 61, 85–86
 Förster, H. 3, 5, 84–85, 90, 145, 252–3
 Foster, P. 87–88
- Geerard, M. 86
 Gerstinger, H. 27
 Glancy, J.A. 226
 Gregory, C.R. 14
 Gundry, R.H. 251, 252
- Haines-Eitzen, K. 126, 197
 Hammerstaedt, J. 5
 Harrauer, H. 2–3, 4, 5
 Harrill, J.A. 222–3
 Harris, W.V. 172
 Heil, J.P. 223
 Heinen, H. 225
- Hezser, C. 226
 Hilhorst, A. 199
 Horsley, G.H.R. 55–56
 Hurtado, L.W. 88
- Jaroš, K. 83–85, 145, 252
 Junker, H. 27
- Klauck, H.-J. 60
 Knoch, S. 226
 Koenen, L. 202
 Kreuzsaler, C. 126
 Kruger, M.J. 20–21, 47–48, 57–59, 61, 62–63, 140
- La'da, C. 61
 Lührmann, D. 82–83, 87, 88
- Maehler, H. 200
 Marksches, C. 200
 Martinez, F.G. 9
 Mayordomo, M. 251
 Merk, A. 27
 Metzger, B.M. 1
 Monson, J. 251
 Muro, E. 253–4
- Naldini, M. 197
 Nicklas, T. 88, 177, 222–3
 Nordling, J.G. 224
- O'Callaghan, J. 234, 235, 236, 241, 244–5, 250, 251
 Otranto, R. 198, 199, 200
- Papathomas, A. 38, 61, 83–85, 145, 221
 Pesce, M. 38, 87, 221
 Pickering, S.S. 235, 236
 Porter, S.E. 9, 69, 88, 90
 Porter, W.J. 90
 Preisendanz, K. 61
 Puech, É. 235, 236
 Puig Massana, R. 251
- Rea, J. 186
 Roberts, C.H. 40
 Roemer, C. 21, 104–5

- Santos Otero, A. de 61
Sanz, P. 95, 99–101, 102, 145, 239
Schnackenburg, R. 173, 174
Schneemelcher, W. 88
Schubart, W. 2, 85
Scibona, R. 252
Seider, R. 4
Spottorno, M.V. 234, 245–7, 253
Stein, P. 126
- Thiede, C.P. 235, 250, 251, 253
Thumb, A. 207
Treu, K. 145
Turner, E.G. 48, 57, 59
- Vaganey, L. 1
van Haelst, J. 48
van Minnen, P. 199–200
van Tilborg, S. 173
von Dobschütz, E. 15, 17
- Wessely, K. 65, 73–75, 76, 77,
79–80
- Youtie, H.C. 121
- Zelnick-Abramavitz, R. 226
Zuntz, G. 27

SUBJECT INDEX

- accent 53
 ἀγράμματος 109 n. 7, 111, 135,
 149–67 (esp. 153–7), 178, 179, 182
 Akhmim-Codex (see *PCair.* 10759)
 amulet 20, 47, 49, 53, 55–56, 57,
 58–60, 63
 ἀναγνώστης 114–5, 156, 178
 anti-Jewish 177
 anti-Judaism 163
 anti-Semitism 166
Apocalypse of Peter 88
 apocalypse 195
 apocryphal 69, 81
apodosis 176, 218
 apotropaeic 22, 59
 Arsinoe 211
 Aurelia Soteira, alias Hesychium 187

 barbarism 108–9
 βιβλιοπώλης 191, 193 n. 47
bifolium 56
 bilinear 63, 104
 bishop 122
 book
 exchange 194, 199
 lending (of) 8, 9, 185–202
 notebook 57
 production 5
 toy book 57
 βουλή 115
 βραδέως γράφοντες ('slow writers') 4,
 8, 111, 113, 120, 123, 125, 131–45,
 149 n. 1, 171, 211, 213 n. 28, 234
 n. 25

Cheirographon 221
 codex 28, 49, 55, 56, 70–71, 83
 colophon 77–78
 column 81
 contraction 31, 32, 39
 copying process 119
 cursive 96, 103

dativus respectus 151
 diacritical signs 98
diaeresis (trema) 26 n. 11, 28, 85
 δικάτηρία 98

 Diocletian 72
 document 6, 8, 25, 96, 134, 164, 208,
 212, 214, 221, 248
 doxology 61

Editio Critica Maior 25, 30, 32 n. 32
erro 224

 Fayûm 5, 72, 158
 Fayûm-Gospel (see *PVindob.G* 2325)
 fiber 95, 96, 98 n. 7
 fingerprint 36, 60
 flesh side 53
folio 28, 54, 56
fugitivus 217, 224, 226

genetivus absolutus 90 n. 93
 Gizeh-Fragment 246
Gospel of Peter 81, 82–83, 86, 87, 102
 n. 16
 Gregory-Aland list 91
 gumming 95
gymnasion 159

 hair side 53
 hand 28, 36, 40 n. 66, 50, 53, 105,
 137, 140–1, 191, 199
Hapax legomenon 153 n. 15, 164, 182,
 215, 216, 220
 harmonization 81, 82
 Hellenization 115, 120
hendiadys 159–60, 166–7
 Heracleopolis (Magna) 72
hermeneia 15–16, 21
 high point 30
 homily 102

 ἰδιώτης 149–67 (esp. 151–53)
 initials 77
 ink 27, 30, 47, 50, 52, 63, 75, 76,
 78, 95
iota adscriptum 28, 235
iota subscriptum 235
 Ἰουδαῖοι 177
 Ischyriion 113–4, 117, 120, 121, 123,
 126, 158
itacism 28

- John Chrysostom 102
 juridical 8, 149
 juxtaposition 40 n. 66, 72
- Κοινή 207–8
 κωμογραμματεὺς 113–4, 118, 120,
 121, 123, 131, 132 n. 3, 158
- Last Judgment, the 95, 102
 layout 26, 32, 33, 34, 36, 47, 53, 58
 leaf 58, 59, 61
lectio brevior 237
 legal background 102, 207–26
 letter forms 58
lex Youtie 142 n. 40, 240
 ligature 40 n. 66, 72, 74, 98, 101
 line ending *v* 28
 literacy/illiteracy 4, 8, 9, 107–26,
 131–45, 149–67, 171–82, 210–2, 214
 Lord's Prayer, the 22, 54, 59, 61
- Marcionites 77 n. 36
 middle stop (μεσῆ) 27 n. 11, 28, 52
 miniature codex 14, 20, 32 n. 40, 47,
 49, 55 n. 29, 57, 59–60, 63, 187–8
 monastic scriptoria 2
munus personale 121, 158
- Nestle-Aland 1, 90–91, 165, 176, 236–7
nomina divina 84
nomina sacra 26, 27 n. 11, 28, 31, 32
 n. 39, 35, 38, 51, 53, 76, 81, 83–85,
 87–88, 98, 185, 243
 ἡ 27 n. 11, 31, 32 n. 39, 39, 77, 85
 ἡν 85
 ἡς 31
 ἱ 31, 81
 κ̅ου 242, 243
 κ̅ω 185, 186
 θ̅ω 185, 186
 π̅ει 52, 72, 74, 76–77, 82–83, 85
 π̅ρ̅ν̅αι 31, 39
 ρ̅ 31, 39
- Onesimus 216–24
opistograph 71 n. 8
 original text 1
 ostrakon 15, 17, 191, 192
 ὀλιγογράμματος 134
 παιδεία 107–8, 124
 παιδευσις 107
- Pamphilus 193, 194
 παράγραφος 237, 238, 241
- pater familias* 217
 Petaus archive 118 nn. 39–41, 125
 Petaus 5, 113–4, 117–21, 123, 125–26,
 131–2, 144, 158
 Peter's denial 87
 Philemon 216–24
 Philo of Alexandria 154
 πόλεις 115
 Porcius Festus 154
protasis 218
 Ptolemaïs Hormu 5, 113, 118, 131
- Qumran 188, 231–54
- reading
 loud 39, 194
 private 34, 39, 194, 196
 public 34, 36, 39, 194
 silent 39, 194
- recto* 26, 29, 47 n. 2, 49 n. 11, 70, 96,
 103–4
 rhetoric 161
 roll 71, 88, 189
 ruling 98
- salutation 185
 Sanhedrin 161, 163, 166, 179
 scribal office 112
 scribe 28, 30, 35, 36, 40, 50, 52,
 62, 72–78, 139, 145, 150, 166, 211,
 247
scriptio continua 36, 71
 secretary 210, 212
 signature stamp 78
 signature 210
 slave 216–8, 222, 224, 225–6
 social class/status 110, 138, 143, 157,
 177 n. 28, 181, 190, 196–7, 225–6
spatium 238
spiritus asper 26 n. 11, 28
staurogram 31, 39
 stichometry 49, 80–81, 236, 243
 suspension 31, 74, 76
 Symmachus 3
 synagogue 77 n. 36, 157, 159, 175
 Synod of Laodicea 59
- talisman 15, 17
 Tetragrammaton 3
 textual criticism 1–2, 64
trema (see *diaeresis*)
 τροφή 107
 Trullanum I (Council of Constantinople,
 680) 138

- ὑπογραφεύς 111–3, 116, 123, 132,
 133 n. 9, 135, 149–50, 153, 171,
 211
 variant reading 7, 25, 29–30, 91
verso 27, 47 n. 2, 49 n. 11, 70, 96, 101,
 102
 ‘Vorlage’ 38
 women 122, 133, 181, 185–202, 193
 n. 44, 197, 199–200, 211–2
 writing exercise 119
 writing materials 2, 8, 10, 13–22, 48,
 58, 60, 207
 Xenarchis 181
 ‘Zierstil’ 142, 234